

# Magazine of Western History.

VOL. I.

FEBRUARY, 1885.

No. 4

---

## NOTES AND CRITICISMS ON UNSETTLED POINTS IN EARLY WESTERN HISTORY,

A SERIES OF PAPERS CONTRIBUTED BY VARIOUS WRITERS, EDITED BY  
OSCAR W. COLLET OF ST. LOUIS.

---

*Ἄλωτα γέρνει ἐπιμελεία καὶ πόνος ἅπαντα.*

— [Menander.]

Rien n'est beau que le vrai: le vrai seul est aimable.

— [Boileau.]

---

### INTRODUCTION.

The cession of Louisiana to the United States in 1804 may be said to close the first epoch of the historic career of the Mississippi Valley. Beginning with the Marquette-Joliet discovery in 1673, it extends over one hundred and thirty years. Of a historic period so recent that men now living have heard many of its stories and traditions from the lips of their grandfathers, and so short that the grandfathers of those grandfathers might have been familiar with its earliest traditions, it is a matter of wonder that there should be doubts on questions of interest. Yet the critical student ever and anon finds obscurity where all should be plain, and conflict where all should be harmony. A people who are careless to ascertain and preserve their past infantile history discover a lack of intellectual

enterprise, and of national pride and self-respect not to be commended. Such indifference should escape censure only in savages.

Of the early discoverers and explorers, and of all those who by superior enterprise, or daring, or skill rendered conspicuous service in the early times, too little is known. In the meagre accounts that we have much is obscure, much is incompletely and some is inaccurately stated; gaps reaching across periods of unusual interest, and sometimes of peril, are found; phenomena having evident historic significance, but of which the significance is unexplained, remain to puzzle instead of to inform; and, doubtless, to some historic personages of the epoch praise and censure are appropriated ignorantly, and hence unjustly. Every day the evidences by which some, at least, of these errors may be corrected are diminished, and occasionally, too, new documents are found. The editor of this series of papers—a gentleman qualified by his learning, by his addiction to local history and by his zeal and penetration in the quest of truth—undertakes, as far as may be, to gather up and preserve whatever fragments may be within reach. The function he assigns himself is chiefly that of editor. Students of local history will be found all over the country, from Chicago to New Orleans, and from Boston to San Francisco, each of whom in his historic rambles has stumbled upon some nugget of truth. Mr. Collet's ambition is to make of these a historic museum that will be valuable. To this end he desires and requests contributions from all qualified persons in the United States, bearing on the first historic epoch of the Mississippi Valley.

Let it be remembered, too, that archæology is distinctly a part of history. It would be a craven spirit that would refuse a place to prehistoric records in the forms, sometimes quaint, ingenious and attractive, sometimes coarse, brutish and repulsive, but always significant and instructive, of archæological remains. Mr. Collet's archæological learning fits him for this department of his editorial duty.

The title of the series is purposely made indefinite. The task which the editor proposes is chiefly to collect contributions and documents, which, together with his own papers, will form the present series. The writings

themselves will be such in their variety of subject matter, and in their locality, as no one mind is capable of producing. It is desired that different sorts of minds having different lines of habitual inquiry and different adaptations shall volunteer as contributors to the series, or forward valuable and hitherto unpublished documents, to be included in it. Even legendary lore and folk lore should not be despised. Superstitions are facts, past superstitions are historic facts, instructive and valuable.

AUGUSTUS W. ALEXANDER.

St. Louis.

NO. I.

AN ABRIDGED MEMOIR ON THE MISSIONS OF THE COLONY OF LOUISIANA, WRITTEN BY FATHER PHILIBERT FRANCIS WATRIN, JESUIT, FORMER MISSIONARY IN LOUISIANA. YEAR 1764 OR 1765.

[This document was found among the archives of the Propaganda, at Rome, by Rev. H. Van der Sanden, Chancellor of the Arch Diocese of St. Louis, who contributes it to the series of Notes and Criticisms. The original memoir is written in French. Mr. D. Lynch, S. J. of St. Louis University, has turned it into English. The note by the Roman officials is in the Italian tongue. Father F. J. Vallazzo, S. J. also of St. Louis University, translated it. Besides giving a resumé of the later Jesuit missions in Louisiana, the document furnishes a succinct and precise account of the origin and progress of "The Jesuit and Capuchin War," as it was called, which occasioned no little scandal in its day, at New Orleans. The facts connected with the disputes between the two religious bodies, as narrated by Father Watrin, leave an impression quite the opposite of that produced by Gayarré's account of the same (ii, p. 70). The cause, it appears from this document, was appealed to Rome, and still undecided at the time of the suppression of the Jesuits in Louisiana. I think the memoir was prepared in Rome in 1764 or 1765. Father Watrin, its author, spent many years in missionary labor in the Illinois. Vivier (*Let. Ed. et Cur. vii, p. 85, ed. 1781*) speaks of him under the name of *Vatrin*, in 1750, as being in charge of a cure of French and negroes in that district.—C.]

His Eminence, the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, is pleased to ask information on the state of the missions of Louisiana. I esteem it

an honor to comply with his wishes. I accept this commission with pleasure, and regard it as a means of gaining for this afflicted mission the good-will and protection of his Eminence. Thirty years spent in this mission, as well among the Indians as the French, have fully qualified me to know it well.

His Eminence, the Cardinal, inquires:

1st. How many principal missions there are, etc.

Reply. Two: that of the Capuchin fathers and that of the Jesuits. To these may be added that of the Gentlemen of the *Foreign Missions*, which is in the lower part of the Illinois, at the extreme north of Louisiana.\* The mission of the Capuchins is the principal: it includes the most important posts of the colony.

Namely, at the mouth of the River St. Louis, from which Louisiana takes its name,† otherwise called the Mississippi, is the Balize. On arriving in this country, thirty-one years ago, I saw still there a garrison of a company of soldiers, and a church. Since a long time no missionary has been there, and scarcely any inhabitants. Twenty-five leagues beyond there are two forts, opposite each other, to guard the entrance to the country. A chapel was erected and a Capuchin father appointed chaplain. Soon after this post was abandoned. Five leagues further is New Orleans, the capital of the colony, a city which, in 1764, contained about four thousand souls, including the troops and the slaves. Here there are five Capuchin fathers, all fully occupied, as, since the exile of the Jesuits, they alone serve two hospitals, a house of Ursuline nuns, with its orphanage, maintained at the expense of the king, and boarding-school in fine, the whole city.

Some leagues above New Orleans a cure was established for the instruction of several considerable habitations.‡ The canton is called Chapitoulas. The post is still an important one, but the Capuchins have no longer a missionary there. It is true that the last two wars of 1743 and 1756 rendered a voyage very difficult for those who may have wished to betake themselves to the colony.

Above the city seven or eight-leagues, what is called the German Coast

\*The Seminary of Foreign Missions was an ecclesiastical institution at Montreal.—C.

†This is a mistake. Louisiana was named after Louis XIV, by Hennepin. It would seem from this document that St. Louis, as the name of the Mississippi, was still in use in 1765.—C.

‡A *concession* is a tract of some extent granted to be improved. A *habitation* is a much smaller grant, and its occupant is called a *habitant*. An *establishment* is a canton where there are several habitations.—*Letter of Father Poisson, 1727, Let. Edef. et Cur. vi, p. 387, ed. 1781.*—C.



begins. It is fully six or seven leagues in extent. It is provided with a beautiful church, under the charge of a Capuchin, Father Barnabas, who serves it well.

At forty leagues from New Orleans begins a recent establishment called Point Coupée, which is eleven leagues in extent. A large and fine church has recently been built there. Father Irenæus, a Capuchin, alone has the charge of this extensive parish. When the Jesuits of the Illinois, recalled by the decree against them, passed by this post, Father Irenæus received and treated them as though they were his brothers.

The last mission of the Capuchins established in these parts is on Red River, at the post called Natchitoches, about one hundred leagues from Point Coupée, and five from that of the Spaniards on the route to Mexico, and which is named *the Adajies*. The locality occupied by the French contains about the same population as a small French village. A Capuchin father resides here.

These reverend fathers have still another mission established at Fort Mobile, sixty leagues from New Orleans. This post was the second in importance of the colony. It is ceded to the English by the treaty of peace. Father Ferdinand, a Capuchin, curate of this place, was ready, it was said, to depart thence a short time after the English should have taken possession.

The Capuchin fathers never had charge of any Indian nation except a little village of Appalaches, formerly attended by Spanish missionaries. They were at that time near Mobile; they removed not long since to the Natchitoches region.

The second principal mission was that of the Jesuits. It may be divided into two parts: one comprising the places less remote from New Orleans; the other, the different posts of the Illinois country, four hundred leagues from New Orleans in ascending the Mississippi.

At New Orleans, even, the Jesuits could be said to have had a mission confided to their care. About one hundred and fifty black slaves, who belonged to them, supplied an object sufficient to exercise the zeal of one of their number at least.\*

The Superior-general, charged to watch over the conduct of the missionaries, was required to reside in that city.

---

\* . . . The rest of our mission of Louisiana consists of a residence at New Orleans, a *habitation* of some size and in good state. The income from this habitation and the stipends allowed by the king, sustain our missionaries.—*Letter of Father Vivier, 1750. Let. Ed. et Cur. vii, p. 85, ed. 1781.—C.*

My Lords, the Bishops of Quebec, since the arrangements made in 1726, had given in charge to these Superiors-general the government of the Ursuline monastery.\* Another Jesuit was appointed by the king, almoner to the Royal Hospital, to which was attached the house of the nuns. This almoner, besides attending the sick, had also to instruct the girls brought up in the monastery.

The Indian nation of Choctaws, forty to fifty leagues from Mobile, numbers twelve to fifteen hundred warriors. This mission was confided to the Jesuits. The missionaries who remained there made no sensible progress in the labors they undertook and sustained to bring over to Christianity the Indians; but, at least, by their constancy in laboring alone in the midst of savage tribes, they rendered a great service to the colony.† They maintained the Choctaws steadfast in alliance with the French by making that people understand how greatly it was to their advantage. Were the English once established among them, they could easily raise the Choctaws against us; and in one day this nation could destroy all the inhabitants of New Orleans, a city entirely destitute of defence.

In ascending Mobile river about a hundred leagues, one meets with the villages of the Alabama. There was in this country a Jesuit, charged with the instruction as well of the Indians as of the French, who in some number were settled at a post. The French were nearly all married soldiers, and formed a well ordered parish, especially after Father Le Roy, now residing in Mexico, succeeded in inducing them and the traders to cease selling brandy to the Indians, a traffic that has ever rendered useless the labors of missionaries, or, at least, greatly hindered their fruitfulness.

\* In 1723 Louisiana was divided into three great ecclesiastical districts. The first, assigned to the Capuchins, extended from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Illinois; the second, which included the districts of the Illinois and of the Wabash, to the Jesuits; the third—the Alabama region, Mobile and Biloxi—was confided to the Carmelites (Gayarré i, p. 195). I know nothing as to the Carmelites; but these districts were soon changed. In 1726 (Gayarré i, p. 229) the Company of the Indies, to which Louisiana then belonged, entered into an agreement with the Capuchins and the Jesuits. The Superior of the Jesuits was to reside at New Orleans, but precluded from exercising any ecclesiastical function without the permission of the Superior of the Capuchins. To carry out the agreement, the Jesuits arrived in Louisiana in 1727. The limitation, mentioned by the historian, was in derogation of the rights of the Bishop of Quebec, Louisiana being a part of his diocese, who, in virtue of his office, could make such appointments as he deemed best. The bishop disregarded the restriction, assigned certain duties to the Jesuits at once, and later, subordinated the Capuchins to the Jesuit Superior-general, as grand vicar of Lower Louisiana.—C.

† Father Baudoin, who in 1750 succeeded Father Vitri as Superior-general of the Jesuits of Louisiana, lived eighteen years previously among the Choctaws, and only left on account of a rising of the nation, incited by the English.—*Letter of Father Vivier, 1750, Let. Ed. et Cur. vii, p. 85, ed. 1781.*—C.

But motives of interest soon renewed the disorder which the zeal of the missionary had abolished. As for the Indians of this country, idolatrous superstition—that is to say, the worship they render to the evil spirit in various ways—has always hindered the Christian religion from penetrating and establishing itself among them. I shall explain more in detail, presently, the obstacles to the planting of the faith among these barbarians.

I leave for the present the places less remote from the mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, and ascending this river arrive at the post of the Arkansas, distant one hundred and fifty leagues from New Orleans. It is a six weeks' journey, and can be performed only in boats propelled by oars. Formerly there were at this post three villages of the aforesaid nation; they are now reduced to a single one. Close by there is a French village with its fort and garrison. The Jesuit missionary could produce no impression upon the Arkansas, superstitious to excess. He succeeded but indifferently in persuading the French to the practice of Christian duties. The last Jesuit in that mission thought himself obliged to abandon it, having for a chapel but an eating room, where the fowls were wont to enter, light upon the altar, etc. The behavior in this place was indecent. Since long time the officers commanding at this post thought themselves stationed there only for an opportunity to carry on a very lucrative trade, and forgot the duty of keeping good order.

One must yet travel one hundred and fifty leagues by water to reach the country of the Illinois. It contains seven French villages, three of which are intrusted to the Jesuits, and four, in two parishes, to the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions. A Jesuit was in each of the three villages. Besides these, there were five villages of Illinois Indians, namely, the Kaskaskias, the Metchigamias, the Cahokias, and the Peorias. All these villages are spread out over an extent of twenty-five leagues.

Since the year 1680 religion had begun to be disseminated among the Illinois. The Peorias alone have been perseveringly obstinate in rejecting it. Next to them the Cahokias were the most difficult to be won over, and they at length abandoned the faith, as did the Metchigamias. The Kaskaskias, for the most part, have persevered in the Christian religion, despite the causes of seduction that perverted the other villages. This constancy may be attributed to the zeal and courage of a Jesuit, who devoted his life to the salvation of these neophytes. He died three years ago.

What has made the Indians so little docile to the teachings of the mis-

sionaries is their attachment to jugglery, that is to say, to the worship of the evil spirit. They honor him in two ways: First, by singing all night until daybreak, as if they attributed to the demon the return of light. Second, by invoking him under the forms of the skins of bears, of otters and of dried crows. Their conversion is hindered by two other causes, namely: the instability of marriage—it is too irksome to remain always with the same woman; and sloth, which stops them when it is requisite to assist regularly at the exercises of religion. But the greatest obstacle is their excessive passion for brandy. The French are prohibited to sell spirits to the Indians. The civil laws, as well as those of the Church, forbid this traffic, but they that should be foremost in enforcing the observance of the laws are the first to violate them.

Near the seventh French village in the country of the Illinois is a village of the Miamis. Notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, few of these Indians have embraced religion.

All of these peoples are ignorant. They find no difficulty in believing our mysteries, because on the side of reason they do not experience the least appearance of opposition. When they are spoken to concerning the Great Spirit, or Master of Life, they understand well enough what these words signify, but they do not feel the necessity of rendering worship to this Sovereign Being.

Some sixty years ago, after an inquiry into the state of the Illinois Indians, it was thought they numbered ten thousand souls. I am of the opinion that to-day there are scarcely more than eight or nine hundred. Association with the French destroys them. They wish to enjoy the comfort in which they see the French live; they grow effeminate and can no longer support the exposure to which one must be subjected in spite of one's self, when, as is the case with them, the winter is spent in the midst of the forests. Except the Choctaws, who, as I have said, are from twelve to fifteen hundred strong, I do not think that all the other Indians together number more than a thousand.\* But this estimate does not comprise the nations situated beyond the Illinois, on the Missouri, another great river which flows into the Mississippi, on the banks of which are found: the Missouris, the Kansas, the Iowas, the Octata, the Osages, and the Panimaha. These tribes have had no missionaries, but some Canadian voyageurs, who frequented them for the peltry trade, have spoken to them of the necessity of baptism, and induced them occasion-

---

\*The writer means warriors.—C.



ally to permit their children to be baptized in cases of great danger of death.

Supposing the number of inhabitants of New Orleans is four thousand, I would be astonished if a man better informed than I about Louisiana would allow more than ten thousand inhabitants in a country of five hundred leagues in length.

In 1763, at the time of our banishment, there were in Louisiana nine Jesuit missionaries, instead of twelve, the number required by the foundation; and nine or ten Capuchin fathers. Father Meurin is the only Jesuit who has remained in Louisiana.\*

I hope his Eminence, the Cardinal, may be satisfied with this memoir, and trust he will be kind enough to excuse its want of precision.

P. F. WATRIN, JESUIT,  
*Former Missionary in Louisiana.*

NOTE RELATING TO FATHER HILARION (*Hilaire*), CAPUCHIN.

Father Hilarion is a man of great vivacity, but little capable of yielding when he has once taken a stand. The Capuchin fathers, from their first establishment in Louisiana, about the year 1720, in their quality of pastors of the city and its environs, for which they are indebted to the India Company then in possession of Louisiana, were at the same time appointed by the Bishop of Quebec, vicars-general of the lower part of the colony. This power remained in their hands until the year 1750. Then the late Monseigneur de Pontbriante, Bishop of Quebec, dissatisfied with the conduct of some Capuchin fathers, deprived them of the authority of grand vicar, and appointed the Superior of the Jesuits to this office. He made, but in vain, a thousand efforts to avoid this commission. The Capuchin fathers, nevertheless, believed the Jesuits had supplanted them. They even pretended that the Bishop of Quebec could not take from them an office which they had held from the very beginning of their establishment. They brought the affair before the Council of New Orleans, which decided in favor of the Jesuits. Still many Capuchins persisted in maintaining this pretended right. The Bishop positively ordered the Superior of the Jesuits to interdict the Capuchins if they would not recognize the vicar-generalship which he held from Monseigneur de Pontbriante. Father

\*Doubtless, St. Louis was visited by some missionary from the eastern side of the river, during 1764 and the first half of 1765; but the earliest *record* of the presence of one at the new post is an entry of the baptism of a child, "under a tent," September, 1765, by Father S. L. Meurin, mentioned in the text: *Cathedral Register*.—C.



Hilarion was conspicuous among the refractory. He publicly posted a placard he had written against the council which had condemned his associates. He was obliged to return to France; but last year, seeing that the Jesuits were suppressed in Louisiana, he thought to profit of the occasion to reinstate himself. He obtained from his friend, Father Bresthof, Provincial of Champagne, permission to return as superior to Louisiana. And in effect he went there.

NOTE BY THE OFFICIALS OF THE PROPAGANDA.

No faculties have been granted to Father Maris, a French Capuchin, living in Louisiana. Still the Capuchins of the Province of Champagne (France) claim that they had been introduced into Louisiana and established there in 1722 by an ordinance of the commissioners of the council of the Company of the Indies, which ordinance was renewed in 1725 and confirmed by a royal decree on the fifteenth of June of the same year.

They allege, also, that in the said ordinance it was enacted that the mission of Louisiana and of the adjoining countries should be administered by them only—"by the Capuchin fathers of the Province of Champagne—they being subject to the authority of the Right Rev. Bishop of Quebec, so that no other religious or secular priest can be introduced or established there without their consent."

*A PP. Cappucinis Provinciae Companiae sub auctoritate R. Episcopi Quebecensis, quin alius Religiosus aut presbyter secularis absque illorum consensu introduci aut stabiliri possit. E.*

In 1726 the Jesuit fathers also were introduced, and in virtue of their diploma and their appointment by the Bishop of Quebec to the office of vicars-general, claimed to be vicars-general; but the Capuchins insisted that they were an independent body, and refused obedience. In 1759, recourse was had by the vicar-general to the Sacred Congregation against the independent proceedings of the Capuchins. The Capuchins submitted their case, and the Sacred Congregation answered, *dilata (i. e., delayed)* until the Jesuit fathers should be heard on the subject, and that a written account of the proceedings regarding the claims of the Capuchins be sent to the Apostolic Nuntio at Paris. But it does not appear that anything more was done, or that the affair went any further.

*Notices relating to Louisiana, showing how the Capuchins of the Province of Champagne were introduced, A. D. 1765.*

## NO. II.

THE RELATIONS OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LEYBA AND GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AND THE AMERICAN AUTHORITIES, AND THE ALLEGED OFFER OF MILITARY AID BY CLARK PREVIOUS TO THE ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS IN 1780. BY OSCAR W. COLLET, OF ST. LOUIS.

It is well known to all acquainted with the early history of the Mississippi Valley, that on May 26, 1780, St. Louis was attacked by an Anglo-Indian force. It is asserted that some time previously the Americans on the east side of the river tendered military aid to the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis, in the event of an attack from any quarter on the posts under his command; and, specifically, that such tender was made by Col. Clark. On the other hand, it is denied that any such offers were ever made, more especially by Clark; and, besides, it is argued that the law of nations prohibited American troops crossing the Mississippi into foreign territory.

"In February, 1779," says the historian of St. Louis, "Col. George Rogers Clark was in the neighborhood of St. Louis. Understanding from some source that an attack was meditated upon the village by a large force under British influence, . . . he at once offered to the Lieutenant-Governor, De Leyba, all the assistance in his power to repel the contemplated attack. The offer was rejected on the ground that no danger was really apprehended."

"In my former sketch of the history of St. Louis, I had placed the time of this offer in 1780. Satisfied that it was made anterior to that year . . . I am not, however, permitted to withdraw the statement that such an offer was made. *The testimony of witnesses then living, upon whose authority it was then made, leaves in my mind no room to doubt the fact.*"\*

Primm may not be strictly accurate in fixing the time of this offer by certain events; but that does not affect the credibility of those from whom he derived his information; as, according to the canon of the learned historian of Greece, "experience proves that scarcely any amount of variation as to the time, or circumstances of a fact, in the authors who record it, can be a sufficient ground for doubting its reality."† Omitting details, it is substantially asserted, *first*: that a tender of aid was made to the

\* 'Primm's Historical Address,' 1847, p. 9. [The italics are mine.]

† 'Thirlwall's Greece,' I. p. 332.

Spaniards previous to the attack of 1780; *next*, that the tender was by Clark; and, *last*, that the authority for the statement was the testimony of contemporaneous witnesses, still living when it was first published. It is always unsafe to reject the statements made by those who professed to have had personal knowledge of the facts to which they bore testimony, unless a mistake can be shown with certainty; and in this particular instance, whether or no Primm has reproduced the facts which occurred precisely in the order of their occurrence, it is to be presumed on the very face of his narrative, in any case, that there was a real fact at bottom which if not identical with the one stated in some accidental feature, was so closely analogous that, without straining historic truth, it may be taken as substantially the same.

This view, however, is not accepted by every one. The writers of the chapters relating to the period in the recent 'History of St. Louis,' Professor Waterhouse and Mr. Billon, are its uncompromising opponents. They offer in support of the negative an argument which, as the latest and most complete presentation of that side of the question, may be taken as the summing up of all that can be said in its favor. After criticizing sharply Primm's chronological discrepancies, and commenting unfavorably on the change of date between his first and last address, they proceed to say: "No records are cited in verification of either, or in explanation of the change; but neither of the dates is correct, *for the simple reason that Clark never made any offer of assistance.* . . . It is obvious that Colonel Clark would not offer relief before he learned there was any danger; and it is equally clear that De Leyba would not solicit succor if it had already been tendered him."\* This is certainly very funny.

Argumentative objections, at their very best, are an unsatisfactory answer to personal testimony of which the honesty and competency are

\*Scharff, 'History of St. Louis City and County,' p. 217. [The italics are mine.] *Note.*—When an author professes to cite the testimony of contemporaneous witnesses, believed to be competent and disinterested, communicated to him orally by them, which testimony, previously preserved only in the memory of individuals, he has committed to writing for the first time, such writing is a record; and this testimony thus recorded is original authority and entitled to full credence.

The true issue is, not whether Clark, in this year or that, tendered aid, but whether he *ever* "made any offer of assistance." This is met by a universal denial, *he never did.* The argument offered to prove the negative, whether intended as a dilemma or not, is worthless; for the simple reason that, whereas it is predicated of both propositions that they are obvious—that is, true on their face—in point of fact they are not obvious, but mere hypothetical opinions, and false. And, besides, the first is simply a begging of the very question to be proved, and then assuming it as an evident proposition; and the second, the imputation of a line of conduct to DeLeyba which, in the nature of things, he would follow, whereas the opposite was what was natural, and which, as the event proves, he did take.

unimpeached. "No records are cited in verification" of what these writers so emphatically assert to be, "no testimony;" and in the absence of both, it is not within the power of man to establish the negative. Clark and De Leyba were on terms of personal intimacy, as well as in correspondence with each other. The offer may have been made orally. How is it possible to disprove it? It may have been made in writing also, for Clark sent the Lieutenant-Governor a number of letters.\* They are in Spain, as are all of De Leyba's papers, and probably have not been inspected for three-quarters of a century.† Who can speak as to their contents?

The writers cited say further:

It is indeed true that De Leyba applied to Clark for aid. His motive in making the request was probably a fear that lawless Indians in their indiscriminate pursuit of plunder might cross the river and commit depredations within his province. There is no proof that Col. Clark promised the solicited aid.

Even if he was not fully occupied with the responsible duties of defending the conquests which he had made, he may have prudently declined to infringe the law of nations. He was well aware that he had no right to march his troops into foreign territory to fight the battles of Spain. It was his duty to observe the American policy of neutrality.‡

What a wonderfully big structure to be, built out of nothing. It is not fact, nor history, nor argument, but guesses, assumptions and imaginations. But when a man once gets such a bee in his bonnet he is sure to go astray. We shall, presently, see more about Clark having "no right to march his troops into foreign territory to fight the battles of Spain," and "his duty to observe neutrality;" but it may be worth while, just here, to note that, according to Dr. Draper, "there was a party of Spanish allies" with Col. Montgomery's expedition sent out from Cahokia in the latter part of May, 1780, in the direction of Rock River.§ "The law of nations," or political boundaries did not, it would seem, prevent Spanish troops from marching along side American soldiers in Illinois, with the avowed purpose of fighting the battles of the colonists.||

What were the relations between Clark and the Spaniards, De Leyba particularly? Happily we are able to ascertain from the best authority. In his sketch of the campaign in the Illinois country, Clark writes: "Our friends, the Spaniards, doing every thing in their power to convince me of their friendship, a correspondence immediately commenced between the

\* Clark's Campaign in the Illinois Country, p. 35.

† Report on Canadian Archives, 1883, p. 14.

‡ Scharff, p. 222. There was no such thing as an American policy of neutrality at that date.

§ W. H. S. Coll. ix, p. 291-92.

|| Note.—This is the first and only instance on record of American and Spanish troops acting in concert as a military force waging war.



Governour and myself."\* This was immediately after the capture of Kaskaskia. Again, . . . "the French and Spainyards appearing so fond of us confused them (the Indians)."† Once more: "An *intimacy* had commenced between Don Leybrau, Lieut.-Governor of Western Illinois, and myself; he omitted nothing in his Power to prove his Attachment to the Americans with such openness as left room for a doubt; as I was never before in the compy of any Spanish gent I was much surprised in my expectations; for instead of finding that reserve thought peculiar to that Nation, I here saw not the least symptoms of it, freedom almost to excess gave the greatest pleasure."‡ This seems to refer to the time when he was at Cahokia and subsequently.

It thus appears that the Spaniards and Americans, and their respective chiefs, in 1778-80, were on the best of terms, DeLeyba and Clark early in correspondence, and a little later exchanging visits in intimate personal intercourse. The Spanish garrison at St. Louis could scarcely have numbered more than twenty-five men—a force totally inadequate to repel a serious attack, as there were neither forts nor fortifications, and the troop at St. Genevieve probably not more than half as many. It may reasonably be inferred that Clark was fully aware of the weakness of the posts on the west side of the river. All this, indeed, does not, of itself, prove that a tender of aid was made by the American colonel to his friend DeLeyba; but it increases the probability of the testimony of the witnesses upon whom Primm relied, and, in connection with other facts, removes doubts of Primm's statements.

There is a fact worth noting which seems to have been disregarded by

\*Clark's Campaign in the Illinois Country,' p. 35.

†Clark's Campaign,' p. 38.

‡Clark's Campaign,' p. 46. Note.—Fernando de Leyba, Captain in the Infantry Regiment of Louisiana, Commander-in-Chief and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part of the Illinois, was in command at St. Louis from June 14, 1777, to June 27, 1780, when he died. According to traditional report in St. Louis generally accepted [see Primm, p. 10, who, however, exaggerates], De Leyba was given to conviviality, and indulged occasionally over much in the wine cup. Clark himself was fond of pleasure and his glass. It is not unlikely the "intimacy," he speaks of, and the "freedom, almost to excess," that "gave the greatest pleasure," were illustrated in social entertainments in which he and De Leyba, boon companions for the time being, put aside reserve and enjoyed themselves freely. On these occasions Clark probably preferred the stronger stimulant to which he was accustomed, and the Spaniard chose the weaker, but equally effective, juice of the grape.

There was, besides, another tie uniting Clark and DeLeyba, which appears to have been overlooked, namely, Francis Vigo. This gentleman early interested himself in Clark's success, and was practically active in promoting it; their relations were certainly intimate. Vigo was not only a personal friend of De Leyba, but connected with him in business. When the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor died, he appointed Vigo his testamentary executor. See Law, Colon. 'History of Vincennes,' p. 26, 'Clark's Campaign,' p. 62; De Leyba's Will, MS.



writers who have set themselves to the task of showing, or who take for granted there was no reason on the face of things, why Clark should have made a tender of aid. "Occasionally the Spaniards at St. Louis would send up a gun-boat to seize everything of the kind (furs and peltries deposited at Prairie du Chien) as so much confiscated property, having been gathered by British traders on Spanish territory, and without license or permission."\* Such proceedings, it may well be inferred, were a proximate cause of danger to St. Louis; for what more likely than that, at any time, retaliation should be attempted, and the Spanish post made to suffer for the loss its rulers had inflicted upon northern English traders. In fact it would be no matter of surprise if these repeated seizures had some influence in bringing on the attack which was actually made in 1780. And further, if the part attributed by Reynolds,† and by Grignon,‡ and by Paul Ducharme§ to Jean Marie Ducharme, as instigating that attack, had any substantial foundation in fact, then it would seem certain that rumors of intended vengeance against the village were current even before Clark captured Kaskaskia. In such case the rumors would have reached his ears; and, whether well founded or not, were sufficient to put him on his guard and induce the tender of aid should aid be required.||

\*Brisbois' Recollections: W. H. S. Coll. ix, p. 289.

†'Reynolds' Pioneer History,' p. 98.

‡W. H. S. Coll., iii, p. 231.

§W. H. S. Coll., iii, p. 233. Paul was the son of Jean Marie Ducharme.

*Note.*—The last three cited authorities independently concur in indicating Jean Marie Ducharme as the chief instigator of the attack, in revenge for the seizure and confiscation of his property by the Spaniards. It is objected that the cause assigned is insufficient, since as that confiscation, according to records in St. Louis, occurred in 1773, he would scarcely, after repressing his anger so long, have given way to it in 1780. But it appears that Ducharme continued his traffic with the Indians on the Spanish side of the river after the date of the occurrence in 1773, and he may have suffered a second seizure, or his goods been captured at Prairie du Chien, and thus the remembrance of the old loss revived with all its bitterness, and stirred him up to vengeance.

||*Note.*—During the time Clark was holding a council at Cahokia, soon after the taking of Kaskaskia, he was visited by delegations of most of the Indian tribes of the north, even as far distant as five hundred miles, and the borders of the lakes; and he had afterwards a number of persons well acquainted with the Indians among those who had treated with him. ['Clark's Campaign,' pp. 41, 46, 48]. He had the best opportunity to inform himself, and doubtless was fully informed of the temper of the Indians and of everything going on in the northwest.

The correspondence of Rocheblave and Hamilton with Carleton and Haldimand, is full of charges of alleged complicity of the Spaniards with the rebel Americans, their giving aid to Willing in his brigandage along the British side of the lower Mississippi, and of their constant intrigues with the Indians east of the river. The hostility of the English to the Spaniards is plain; besides, they must have been fully aware of the relations of Clark with DeLeyba.

January 13, 1779, Lt. Gov. Hamilton writes from Vincennes to Gov. Galvez, expressing a hope that the commerce in gunpowder with the rebels will be prohibited from New Orleans; that if an asylum be granted the rebels, who have given out that in the event of a force coming against them they will take

Col. John Todd was appointed civil commandant at the request of Clark.\* He arrived in May, 1799, and his instructions soon after reached him.† We learn from his original 'Note Book' that he was directed to tender friendship and services to the Spanish commandant near Kaskaskia (DeLeyba), and cultivate the strictest connection with his people; also, that Gov. Henry intrusted him with a letter for the Spanish Governor which he was to deliver *in person*.‡ It may reasonably be presumed that Patrick Henry's letter was delivered at the earliest convenient moment, and that, among other things, it contained a tender of aid in case of need.

Mindful of the duty given him in charge, on August 9, 1799, Todd wrote to Cartabona at St. Genevieve, and DeLeyba at St. Louis, proposing commercial arrangements mutually advantageous to the Spaniards and Americans, and to the detriment of the English. He informs the Spaniards that Colonel Clark had not yet departed from Post Vincennes; and further, should they be attacked by any enemies, and he can be of service to them, he is ordered by the Governor of Virginia—Governor Henry—to give them aid. There can be no doubt as to what this means, no mistaking the pointed reference to Clark. At a single stroke Todd's 'Note Book' sweeps away the whole mesh woven out of the law of nations, and hindrances to Clark crossing the Mississippi and fighting the battles of Spain. Now let us apply to the undoubted historic facts supplied by this 'Note Book' the same reasoning and in the very words of the argument, names alone changed, with which it has been attempted to overthrow Primm: "It is

\*Under act, October, 1778, 'Butler's Ky.' p. 65. †'Clark's Campaign,' p. 84.

‡Col. John Todd's 'Note Book,' with his letter of instructions annexed: M. S. in Archives Chicago Historical Society. A synopsis of the 'Note Book' is given in Mason's 'Illinois in the Eighteenth Century.'

refuge in Spanish territory, the Spanish post (St. Louis) will be attacked [Report on Canadian Archives, 1882. p. 25].

January 24, 1779, Hamilton to Haldemand—*Inter al* . . . orders to Captain Bloomer at Natchez, engaged in intercepting rebel supplies from New Orleans. Believes there is war with both France and Spain, but has no word to justify him in offensive measures. [*Idem*. p. 26.]

November 20, 1779, Major De Peyster, at Detroit, to Haldimand.—Is urging the Indians to prevent Clark from building a fort at the Falls of the Ohio; this will take him off the Illinois country and enable Gov. St. Clair to surprise Fort Louis at Vincennes. [*Idem*. p. 33]. St. Louis at an early day was nicknamed *Pain Court*, which by elision and making one word of two, became *Pancore*. (See W. H. S. Coll., p. 231-2). Grignon says the attack on St. Louis was countenanced and encouraged by Gen. Sinclair [W. H. S. Coll., p. 232], and Stoddard, [p. 79] that he planned it.

February 12, 1780, Haldimand to De Peyster—approves of employing the Wabash Indians to prevent Clark establishing himself at the Falls. Sinclair should strike the Illinois. [Report on Canadian Archives, 1882. p. 33].

March 8, 1780, De Peyster to Haldimand—what he proposes doing will facilitate Sinclair's movements on the Mississippi. [*Idem*., p. 34.]

obvious," say Professor Waterhouse and Mr. Billon, "that Governor Henry would not offer relief before he learned there was danger, and it is equally clear that De Leyba would not solicit succor if it had already been tendered." But Henry did offer relief whether there was any danger or not, of which he had no information, and De Leyba did solicit succor after it had been tendered, in the most formal manner, in the name of a great State—a palmary illustration of the unwisdom of opposing theoretical and hypothetical argumentation to the testimony of contemporaneous witnesses. Had we nothing more than the simple fact that De Leyba, a Spanish commandant, did appeal to Clark, an American colonel, to come with his troops to his aid, it should of itself be taken as *prima facie* evidence of the existence of a previous promise, or offer, to be redeemed whenever the moment of need was at hand.

In view of the foregoing, the following conclusions appear legitimate, namely: *First*, Primm's statement that Clark tendered aid to De Leyba in case of need, though inexact as to the accident of date, is to be held as substantially correct. *Second*, that it is probable Governor Henry made a like tender of aid in his letter to De Leyba, which must have been placed in the Lieutenant-Governor's hands early in the summer of 1779. *Third*, that it is certain such tender was officially renewed by Todd in virtue of positive instructions from the State of Virginia. *Fourth*, that any and every such offer, whenever and by whomever made, necessarily included at that time the personal services of Clark with his troops, and, if there was occasion, their crossing into Spanish territory and fighting the battles of Spain.

OSCAR W. COLLET.

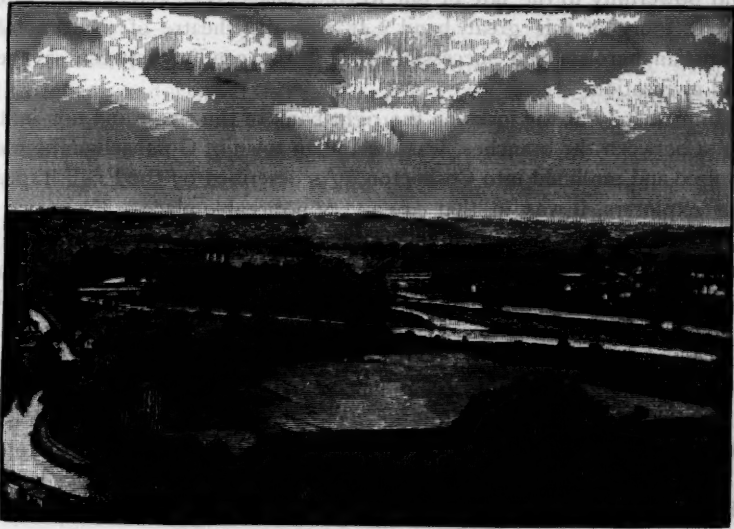
## THE FORKS OF THE MUSKINGUM.

The valley of the Muskingum embraces not far from one-fourth of the State of Ohio, including seventeen counties several of them beyond the average of Ohio counties in area, agricultural and mineral wealth, population and development. The stream itself, in length and breath, far exceeds any other in the State. The first permanent settlement made in the Territory—afterwards included in the State—was made at the mouth of this river, and a large part of the earlier immigrants found access to their new homes by it. Taking ark or flatboat, a pirogue at Redstone or Fort Pitt, or Wheeling, and floating down the Ohio to Marietta, they poled or were drawn by horses along the main stream or its tributaries to or quite near their new homes. The early settlers recognized it as a great artery of trade, and along its usually placid but frequently swollen and muddy waters floated many a craft well laden with corn, bacon, flour, whiskey and other products of food for pioneer life. Until the building of the Ohio Canal, fair sized steamboats plowed its waters their whole length. The State, in its ordering of internal improvements, recognized the importance of the stream and gave it its great slack water system. At this time the general government was expending many thousands of dollars at its mouth in the construction of an ice harbor for all the craft plying upon it and upon the upper Ohio. Directly upon its banks are located the thriving little cities of Marietta, McConnellsville, Zanesville and Coshocton, while its chief tributaries are graced by such flourishing and attractive places as Cambridge, New Philadelphia, Canton, Massillon, Wooster, Ashland, Mansfield, Mt. Vernon and Newark.

About one hundred and fifteen miles from its mouth the river parts (using the phraseology of the olden rather than of the modern time). The right hand branch was once best known as the Little Muskingum, but upon the maps and in the histories of the present century, it has been called the Tuscarawas. The other, a left hand branch, was until quite recent times more generally called the Whitewoman, but the Indian name Walhonding, said to mean Whitewoman, has come with passing years to be more approved and used.



This parting of the river was in very early maps a well marked locality and was designated "The Forks of the Muskingum." Few localities have had more interest for the antiquarian and the student of American history. Few have been the sites of more impressive, touching and widely important transactions. Few spots are more worthy of the interest of our American people. It was a favorite spot with the Indians. The slowly moving, gracefully curving streams, the wide valleys, the moderately elevated and handsomely moulded neighboring hills, the rich corn soil, the splendid forests, the abundant game, especially the deer (Muskin-



THE FORKS OF THE MUSKINGUM.

gum is said to mean Elk's Eye, the emblem of placid beauty), all conspired to attract the red man, who, with all his faults, has never been charged with want of appreciation of natural beauty or destitution of sentiment of a somewhat poetic sort. To the hunters and trappers, and explorers and missionary priests, during the time of the French occupancy, before Ft. Duquesne became Ft. Pitt, it was a readily found and quite familiar place. It was the location of the chief town and capital of one of the best nations of Indians known to the Fathers—the Delawares who coming from the east and already leavened by the philanthropy of Penn

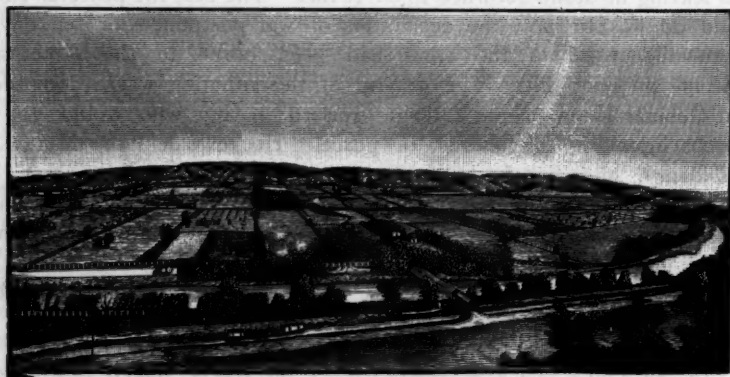


and the Christianity of the Presbyterians in upper New Jersey, and of the Moravians on the banks of the Lehigh found here a home to their liking, and as we shall see barely escaped complete recognition by the Colonial Congress as a coördinate and coequal part of the colonial system of government. To this capital frequently repaired such chieftains, as Logan and Cornstalk, and it was the cherished home of Netawatwees, White Eyes, Hilbuck and other famous braves. It is a locality where was witnessed one of the grandest "victories of peace" afforded by the annals of the world. It was the arena of a struggle bearing relation most clearly and powerfully to the fate of our Revolutionary War and all the subsequent glory of this great band. It was the theatre of most notable Christian heroism and successful work in the conflict between savagery and civilization.

Immediately at the forks on the right bank of the river, and not in the delta between the branches, was the Indian town of Goschachgunk, modernized and mollified into Coshocton. As described by the English speaking explorers, it was in that day a very noticeable place. From two to four score of houses built of logs and limbs and bark, were arranged in two parallel rows, making a regular street between. Prominent among these houses was the Council House, a great booth in which the big braves of the different tribes, no doubt much after the manner of later legislators, smoked their pipes and made their largely buncombe speeches. At one time seven hundred Indian warriors assembled at the town. This was probably in the spring of 1778. Usually, and as to the mass of them, the Delaware Indians were, from influences already referred to, inclined to peace, and entertained friendly feelings for the whites. Indeed, they were often taunted by the neighboring tribes as being "women," and were often remarked about as having too many captives; they making exertions to keep as such those commonly appointed by other Indians to the tomahawk or stake. When the Revolutionary War was begun, it was a matter of the utmost importance, as can be readily seen, to secure at least the neutrality of the Indian tribes, and two treaties were made at Pittsburgh in successive years, 1775 and 1776, binding to this neutrality the Delawares and some of the immediately adjacent tribes. At the opening of the campaign of 1777, the hatchet was sent out from Detroit the British headquarters, and was accepted by the Wyandots and Shawnees and others. The report was that it was to be sent also to the Delawares, and if they declined they would be treated as common enemies and at-

tacked at once by the British and their allies. A part of the nation, namely the Wolf tribe, under the control of Captain Pipe, always the more warlike, did not fancy the neutrality. But the influence of White Eyes and others was paramount, and the hatchet was offered and refused three times during the summer. On the the ninth of March, 1778, a grand council was held. Many of the young warriors appeared in paint and with plumes. The Shawnees were hot for the fray, and showed their British muskets and the powder sent from Detroit. The ignoble trio of go-betweens and desperadoes, Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty and others, had been for months most persistent in trying to inflame the Delawares. A sergeant and twenty privates, deserters from Fort Pitt, had recently passed through the town on their way to the British Indians and Detroit. The air was full of stories, representing that the British had thoroughly vanquished the colonists along all the Atlantic coast and were driving them to the westward. Captain Pipe thought his time had now come to supplant White Eyes and his peace policy, and was leaving no stone unturned to effect this. The best the peaceful chief could do was to have the declaration of war postponed for ten days. Meanwhile, word of the crisis had been borne to the American officers at Fort Pitt. The gravity of the situation was recognized, and General Hand offered a liberal reward to any who would go to Goschackgunk in the interest of peace. Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, and Schebosh, an Indian convert then at the fort, at length agreed to go, and riding day and night without stopping, except to feed their horses, and in constant danger from war parties that lurked in the forests, they reached Gnadenhütten on the eighth day of the ten stipulated for by White Eyes. Here Schebosh was compelled by weakness to stop, but the determined Heckewelder—hardly able to sit in his saddle with the weight of discouragement by no means lightened at what had been learned at the missionary settlement up the river, and with only a native assistant, named John Martin to accompany him—pressed on, and at ten o'clock of the ninth day of delay of the war declaration reached Goschackgunk. The Indians met him with dark and sullen faces. Even White Eyes had seemingly yielded to the pressure, and for a time withheld any greeting. Heckewelder, holding aloft the documents he had brought from the commandant at Fort Pitt, earnestly addressed the people from his house. The aspect of affairs was at once changed. The missions from the colonists were accepted. White Eyes and his

peace policy were again in the ascendancy. Warlike preparations ceased, and Captain Pipe and his adherents left the town in great chagrin. The Delawares still stood as a wall between the British Indians and the little company of American soldiers and settlers in the West. The struggling forces on the Atlantic seaboard were subjected to no fire in the rear. Looking at the probable consequences of a different decision, may it not be rightfully claimed that a grand victory in the interests of peace and of the American colonists was won at the Forks of the Muskingum? Subsequently, indeed, chiefly by the machinations of Girty, a part of the nation was led to join the British Indians, but they were too few and it was too late to do the colonists much harm. In the later part of 1778, the rightful authorities of the nation made a complete treaty of alliance with commissioners of the United Colonies, therein providing for the carrying out of a cherished project of White Eyes—that the Delawares should be represented in the Colonial Congress, ultimately to become as a Christian Indian State, one of the United States.



LITCHTENAU.

Something over a mile south of Goschackgunk, and in view from "the Forks," was another Indian town, occupied by Moravian Indians, and called Lichtenau, or "Pastures of Light." At the request of Netawatwees, Kilbuck and White Eyes, this town had been established in close proximity to Goschackgunk (afterwards sometimes distinguished as "the heathen town") in hope of its Christian influence thereupon. On the twelfth of April, 1776, Zeisberger and Heckewelder, at the head of eight

families, numbering thirty-five persons, arrived from Gnadenhütten, the mission town on the Tuscarawas, and on the next morning, after protracted devotional exercises, began the felling of trees for their new homes. The town grew rapidly; the mission work left by Zeisberger and Heckewelder in the care chiefly of Rev. William Edwards, prospered greatly. A grandson of Netawatwees and a number of the other head men, having been baptized, removed from the capital and became residents of the new town. The place soon fitted the name, and was described as situated "in a meadow beautiful by nature and brightened by grace." At one time the Christian Indians from all the Tuscarawas towns were gathered into Lichtenau, in consequence of corrupting influences and persecutions to which they were subjected, and remained for about a year. Their thus greatly multiplied population may account for a plague, reported to have prevailed about that time at the town, which is given as the explanation in later times for the great graveyard which attracted the attention of the early white settlers in that locality. But as the number of graves was very large, and there is a large mound forty feet high a few hundred yards away, many have accepted the theory that therein were deposited the bones of the dead of numerous tribes or of several generations. It is well known that, as to some of the tribes at least, whenever they removed they took the bones of their ancestors with them. And it is quite within the range of probability that this great graveyard, estimated by some to have contained many thousands of graves, was the first resting place of those who had dwelt in far distant localities. Only one other locality, in all the great Mississippi Valley at all events, has been noticed as furnishing a comparable graveyard, and that is a place not very far from where the Missouri and Mississippi come together, or as we might call it, "the Forks of the Mississippi." That has usually been held as the burying place of a race far older and more civilized than the Indians. If the same thing be accepted as true of this Muskingum Valley cemetery, we shall have evidence that "the Forks of the Muskingum" was a locality well marked by no less than three distinct races of men.

Two famous military expeditions made the Forks of the Muskingum their chief objective point. The first, both in the order of time and importance, of these was "Boquet's Expedition." The Indians of the northwest having been reported "on the war path," General Gage, whose headquarters were then at Boston, in the spring of 1764 directed Colonel Boquet to organize a corps of fifteen hundred men and enter the country of the



Delawares and Shawnees at the same time that General Bradstreet would engage in chastising the Wyandots and Ottawas, who were then infesting the region about Detroit. As a part of Colonel Boquet's force was composed of militia from Pennsylvania and Virginia, it was slow to assemble. On the fifth of August it rendezvoused at Carlisle, Pa. The Virginia quota was at Fort Pitt on the seventeenth, where were stationed also parts of the 46th and 47th regiments. At length, October 3, the army, consisting of some twelve or thirteen hundred men, left Fort Pitt and proceeded down the Ohio, then up the Little Beaver and over the ridges to Sandy Creek, a tributary of the Tuscarawas. At a point near the present village of Bolivar, Boquet's forces erected a stockade and completed their preparations for effective warfare. The Indians, overawed as it is claimed, at once agreed to a treaty of peace, engaging among other things to restore all white captives. The expedition then passed down the Tuscarawas on the north side and encamped on the high ground between the rivers, and within sight of the Indian town at "the Forks of the Muskingum." By the ninth of November two hundred and six captives had been brought in, and on the eighteenth of November the army broke up its cantonment and marched for Fort Pitt, arriving there on the twenty-eighth of the same month. Some of the captives delivered to Boquet were very loath to go with him, and a few of them escaped after the expedition started and returned to their free forest life. The legend of the Walhonding (white woman), telling how a captive wildly fled from the wigwam and threw herself from an uprearing and overhanging rock (a few miles west of the Forks) into the seething waters of the storm-swollen river, choosing death rather than captivity, is significant of the horrors attending it even among the Delawares. It is, however, most likely that she was a captive of the Wolf or Monsey tribe, who were perhaps the unit representatives of the nation. Despite all that has been said, or may be claimed, it is no doubt true that even among the Delawares the savage nature was frequently displayed, especially when in the bad company of other tribes. They were not without much blame at the mouths of the whites for cruelties upon helpless settlers, whose settlements to the east and south of them they invaded, and who individually or in small hunting and scouting parties might fall into their hands. It cannot be doubted that their treatment of Colonel Crawford out in the Wyandot country, when they tied him to a stake, fired numerous charges of powder into his flesh, cut and beat and burned and by every possible torture put him to a ling-



ering death, was thoroughly Indian, well nigh fiendish. Yet it is to be remembered that those doing these things were confessedly but a small part of the tribe, that had turned away from those at the Forks because of their dislike of civilization; that they were incited by the Shawnees and Wyandots; and that they regarded their work as just retribution for the bloody massacre at Gnadenhütten (in which they alleged Crawford had taken a part) and other outrages which their race had suffered at the hands of those who were crowding them out of the land. In the Delaware country proper there abides no memorial of outrages committed by the Indians upon the whites. There is no dark and bloody battlefield nor site of sickening family massacre. The record is wholly reversed.

Far more Indian blood than white was shed about the Forks of the Muskingum. The most of it was shed in connection with the second of the two expeditions referred to. This was called "Broadhead's Expedition," or more frequently the movement has been designated as the "Coshocton Campaign." It was undertaken in the summer of 1780, and grew out of the deepened feeling of antipathy to the Indians, because of some depredations and outrages committed upon settlers in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia and Eastern Ohio. It had also been reported that the Delawares, contrary to pledges, were joining the British. The number of regulars and militia was about eight hundred, under the command of General Broadhead. The force marched from Wheeling to the Tuscarawas Valley, reaching it about Newcomerstown. A part of the militia were anxious to go up the river and destroy the Moravian villages, which they regarded as at best half-way houses, and shelters for Indian marauders, but they were restrained from executing the project by the special exertions of General Broadhead and Colonel Shepherd, of the regular forces. They kept on towards the Forks of the Muskingum, and having, a few miles therefrom, observed some Indian scouts (one of whom they shot), they made a forced march and surprised both Goschackgunk and Lichtenau, capturing, without firing a gun, all the Indians then in them. Among those captured in Lichtenau were several Christian Indians from Gnadenhütten. These were promptly released by the commander of the expedition, and started in a canoe for home, but some of the militia followed and fired at them. Forsaking their boat and taking to the hills, all except one, who had been mortally wounded, reached their homes in safety. Sixteen of the other prisoners, having been pointed out as having been engaged in some recent forays, by Pekillon, a friendly Dela-

ware chief who was with the army of General Broadhead, were doomed to death by a council of war, and having, after dark, been taken a little way from the town of Goshackgunk, were speedily dispatched and their scalps taken. The next morning the towns were fired in several places, and the army set out on its return. Just before the expedition started out on its return, an Indian chief appeared on the opposite bank of the river and proposed a friendly talk. He was invited over by General Broadhead, and assured of his safety; but while talking, Lewis Wetzel, the famous "Indian Killer," slipped up behind him, and drawing a tomahawk which he had concealed in his hunting shirt, sunk it in the chief's skull, instantly killing him. The prisoners taken by the expedition, when it was about to move, were put in charge of the militia. After marching less than half a mile these suddenly fell on their captives, and with knife and tomahawk dispatched all save a few women and children. About two score are reported as the number thus slaughtered. The women and children were taken to Fort Pitt and afterwards exchanged for a like number of white ones. Goschackgunk and Lichtenau were subsequently rebuilt, and reoccupied to some extent, but never again reached the proportions attained prior to "Broadhead's Campaign." After the Gnadenhütten massacre, which occurred the next spring, the few remaining Delawares gradually retired to the west, or were taken to Canada. In 1795 their country, of which the Forks of the Muskingum was a central point, came fully into the possession of the United States. Until after the war of 1812 a few straggling members of the nation, especially the Moravian ones, moved about the locality hunting, disposing of pelts, or possibly visiting the graves of their sires. In 1819 there were eighty Delaware Indians near Sandusky, Ohio, and some two thousand in Northern Indiana. Fragments of the nation are yet recognized in Canada and in the Indian Territory, but its power was broken, and the sceptre had departed when it was turned away from its loved haunts about the "Forks of the Muskingum."

In subsequent years, and in the possession of a new race, the locality was still a marked one. Its flour and its whiskey have given it fame in far off lands, albeit of the latter none is now made. Forty thousand gallons of it, however, were once sent by one shipment to California. Its sons and daughters are widely scattered and many of them well known. It has been the dwelling-place of such men as the Buckinghams, Joseph Medill, the famous Chicago editor; of Noah H. Swayne, of the United

States Supreme Court; Rev. Dr. Conkling, of New York City; Governor Stone, of Iowa, and of many others of scarcely less distinction. The junction of the Ohio and Walhonding canals, with an unlimited supply of water-power, and with thick-set mills and factories, is within gun-shot of the Forks. Within sight are numerous collieries. The thriving towns of Coshocton and Roscoe on either hand, with really noticeable hotels, business houses, schools and churches catch the eyes of the myriads of passengers over the Pan Handle and other railways passing by them.

Probably no man ever had so much notoriety in connection with the Forks, and especially gave so much notoriety to the locality, as "old Charley Williams," or "King Charley," as he was called. He was born in 1764, near Hagerstown, Md. In his boyhood the family removed to Western Virginia, near Wheeling. He subsequently struck out for himself, and was engaged for a time at the salt works, ten miles below Coshocton, but in the closing years of the last century he settled at "the Forks." He is generally regarded as the first permanent white settler in what is now Coshocton County. He died in 1840. Of hardy stock, he grew up in the severest discipline of pioneer life. He was a successful trapper, scout, hunter and trader. Clever, shrewd, indomitable, not averse to the popular vices of his day, and even making a virtue of profanity, he was for forty years a prominent feature of the locality, and for twenty-five years the real ruling power of the region. He held every office possible in that day for a man of his education, from road supervisor up to tax collector and member of the Legislature. He kept the Forks ferry and the tavern near by. He was a good shot, a fine dancer, a colonel in the militia. Among the accepted traditions of the locality is one telling how the colonel once kicked Louis Phillipe, afterwards the famous French king, out of his tavern. G. W. Silliman, a lawyer of Coshocton, was in Paris as bearer of dispatches to the American minister, having been sent by his uncle, General Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, and heard the king speaking of his travels in the western country, when a refugee in America. The king complained that he had been very shabbily treated at the Forks tavern. And this confirmed William's oft told tale, which was that Louis complained of the accommodations as utterly unfit for a real king, and Williams told him that he had entertained hundreds of sovereigns (all the people in this country being such,) and if he was not satisfied with what had pleased them he could get out of his house, and as the king withdrew he gave him a little lift with the toe of his boot.

The story, at any rate, helped no little to make Williams, in the eyes of the early settlers, "a bigger man than old Grant." In the days of the militia musters, and at the time of "the court balls," held at the close of each term of court, the old tavern shown in its brightest glories. For a year or so after the county seat was established at Coshocton, the courts were all held in Williams' house, and several of the earlier sermons at the Forks were preached in "Old Charley's" bar-room. What the Forks were to a wide adjacent region, that "Old Charley's" tavern was to the Forks. Some of its features can still be seen in far western regions, but some are no longer found even in the pioneer tavern. For many of the settlers about the Forks, in its day, life would hardly have been worth living without the old tavern.

In what may be termed the second stage of settlement of the region about the Forks, there came to be very widely known a house of marked contrast with the old tavern, and no picture of the locality is complete without it. Less widely known, it yet is more deeply embalmed in the memories of the very many who did know it—residents, movers, traveling preachers, home-sick immigrants, fever-stricken settlers, unlettered children, and all that longed for heavenly light and rest. For year after year it was the "headquarters" of the godly, the ministers' "hold." The chief figure in that house was a woman. She came from the grand old Scotch-Irish stock, which, whatever glory is due unto another race for what was done in the outset of our career, or may yet be attained by possibly still another, it must now be admitted has furnished so immensely the brain and brawn whereby this great land has become what it is. Although for a number of years prior to coming to the Forks she had lived in Western Pennsylvania, she was herself an immigrant from Ireland, and thus knew the heart of a stranger. She had been reared in a family connection famed for its earnest piety and the large contribution of its sons to the ministry. She had experienced the griefs of widowhood, and had learned the care of a family. She came to the Forks with the children of her first marriage, as the wife of the leading "storekeeper" of the region. He also was from "the green isle," and had full proportion of the keen wit and strong sense characterizing his people generally. He was in full sympathy with her in her religious views, which were always tinged with the bright and loving blue of true Presbyterianism, and cheerfully supported by his means all her endeavors in the hospitable and charitable line. And so she wrought, leaving imperishable marks,



and making her name—"Mother" Renfrew—to be still cherished in many a household at the Forks and far away.

WM. E. HUNT.

Coshocton, O.

---

### MAN AND THE GLACIAL PERIOD IN AMERICA.

The first prominent attempt to shed light upon the early history of man, from his relation to the glacial period, was made by Sir Charles Lyell, in his epoch-making work upon the 'Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man,' published twenty-three years ago. In this work no less than seven chapters, occupying one hundred and sixty pages, were devoted to this branch of the subject. Within the past five or six years a great impulse has been given to this department of investigation, by various discoveries in North America. In 1872 Dr. C. C. Abbott, of Trenton, N. J., began to report palæolithic implements in the terrace gravel on the Delaware River, near his home. The accompanying cuts (taken from the sixth chapter of my 'Studies in Science and Religion') show the resemblance between the palæoliths found by Boucher de Perthes at Abbeville, France, and those found by Dr. Abbott at Trenton, N. J. The material from which these implements are made is different from that employed in France or Southern England, but the fashion of the implements is identical, and resembles, also, very closely that of stone implements recently found by Professor H. W. Haynes in Upper Egypt, showing, perhaps, the predominance of French fashions even at that early date.

Dr. Abbott's specimens, which now number many hundred, have, with few exceptions, gone to the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Mass., where anyone can see at a glance, at once the resemblance of his collection of palæoliths to those from the Old World, and the contrast between palæolithic implements and the ordinary Indian relics, with which all Americans are familiar. An additional interest attaching to the implements of palæolithic types, found by Dr. Abbott at Trenton, is that they alone were occasionally found many feet below the surface of the stratified gravel, of which the terrace at Trenton is composed. This fact gave

additional interest to Dr. Abbott's specimens, because of the precisely similar circumstances under which the palæoliths were found in Northern France and Southern England.



PLATE I.—The palæolith here shown is natural size, and is No. 3034 of the Mortillet collection from Abbeville, France. The geological conditions under which this was found are very similar to those of the palæolith from Trenton, N. J.

In 1880 I was requested by the curator of the Peabody Museum, on account of some special experience I had had in the study of the glacial deposits of Eastern Massachusetts, to visit Trenton, so as to form an independent opinion of the age of the gravels in which these implements were found. This I arranged to do in November of the same year, in company



PLATE II.—This palaeolith is shortened one inch in the cut, and is proportionally narrow, the original being  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $8\frac{1}{4}$  wide. This is No. 19723 in Dr. Abbott's collection from Trenton, N. J. The Morillet and Dr. Abbott's collections are both in the Archaeological Museum in Cambridge, Mass., where these specimens can at any time be seen. No. 19723 is specially interesting, because Professor Putnam took it with his own hands out of Trenton gravel from behind a small boulder which was firmly embedded four feet below the surface of the soil. (See Proceedings of Boston Society of Natural History, Vol. XXI, p. 149.) For the geological condition, see Plate III; for a more detailed account, see 'Studies in Science and Religion,' Chapter VI.

with Professor Boyd Williams Dawkins, the highest authority in England upon these subjects; Professor Henry W. Haynes, of Boston, who had just returned from a thorough investigation of all localities in the Old World where palæoliths are found, and Professor H. Carvill Lewis, who was making a special study of the glacial deposits of the Delaware River for the Pennsylvania Geological Survey. A report of this visit may be found in the 'Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History' for January 19, 1881. The result was to settle beyond question the fact that the gravel in which Dr. Abbott's implements are found belongs to a deposit that was made at the close of the glacial period, thus showing that man was in America at that early date. From bones found in the same deposit it is evident, also, that the mastodon, the Bison, the Greenland reindeer and walrus were contemporaries with man in America, in contending with the Arctic rigors of the closing period of the glacial epoch. Thus the question of man's antiquity in America becomes identical with that of the antiquity of the closing part of the glacial period, and the Cleveland Historical Society was in the direct line of its work, in the invaluable encouragement which it rendered me in the prosecution of my glacial inquiries in Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana during the summers of '82 and '83.

Briefly stated, with reference to their bearing upon this subject, the results of my investigations up to date are as follows:

The exact boundary of the glaciated area has been traced from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, as shown in the accompanying maps of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. The whole region north of that boundary line is covered with glacial *débris*, and the preglacial conditions are largely obliterated by the direct and indirect action of the ice that pushed down over the area. The whole region is covered, to an average depth of fifty or sixty feet, with material that was ground up by the moving ice, and transported some distance to the south; and granite boulders from Northern Canada are spread over the whole region. But archæologists are specially interested in the extensive gravel deposits lining the banks of all the streams which rise in the glaciated region and flow southward into an unglaciated section of the country, for these are the deposits corresponding in character and age to those in which palæolithic implements have been found in New Jersey and Western Europe; and now that attention is directed to the subject, we are beginning already to obtain some interesting results from local observers. Palæolithic imple-



ments have been reported to Professor Haynes from the glacial gravel from the Lehigh Valley, near Bethlehem, Pa. Miss Babbitt reported to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, last year, the

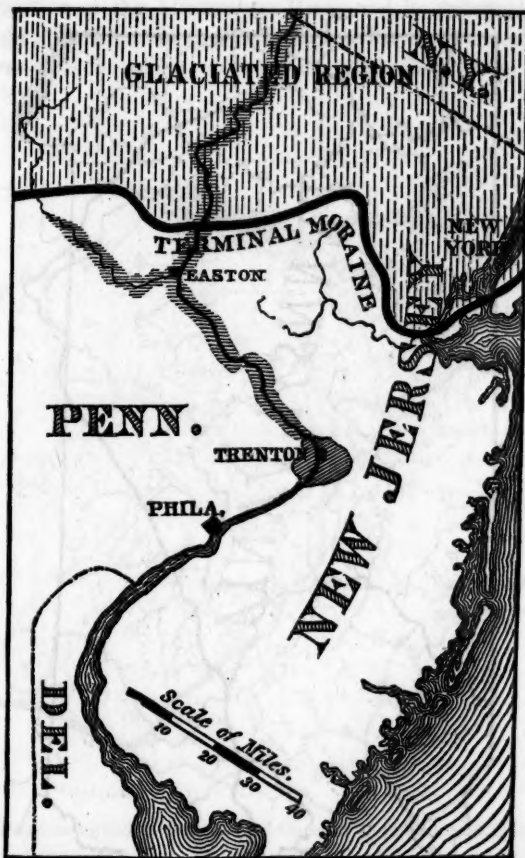


PLATE III.—(Taken from 'Studies in Science and Religion') shows, in addition to the glaciated area of New Jersey, the glacial terraces of gravel along the Lehigh and Delaware rivers, and also the "Delta Terrace" at Trenton, fifty feet above the river, in which Dr. C. C. Abbott has found palæolithic implements.

discovery of similar implements at Little Falls, Morrison County, Minn., and the gravel terrace in which they are found is pronounced by Mr. Warren Upham, one of the best authorities on the subject, to belong to

the modified drifts deposited at the close of the glacial epoch. ('Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science,' vol. xxxii, pp. 385-390.) And Mr. F. S. Reefy, of Elyria, has recently



PLATE IV.—The broad, black line shows Southern Boundary of Glaciated Area of Pennsylvania.  
received from Tuscarawas County, from the valley of Sugar Creek, some rough implements, which, so far as form is concerned, may well belong to the palæolithic age. The important question, however, concerning

these and all similar implements, is: Do they really belong to the stratified gravel which is so abundant in the valley of Sugar Creek, just below the glacial limit? There is no question that the gravel deposits in the upper portion of the Tuscarawas River and its tributaries belong to the same age with those in the Delaware River at Trenton. But there are so many ways in which an inexperienced observer is liable to be



PLATE V.—Map showing Southern Boundary of Glaciated Area of Southern Ohio.

deceived with respect to the original position of an implement that great care should be taken whenever one is found to observe all the circumstances, and to describe them with as full detail as possible. An implement, for example, may occur some distance below the surface of a gravel deposit without having been in that position originally; it may have been buried in a grave or pit; it may have fallen down, or have been washed

down, from the top of a bluff or knoll, and subsequently buried by other *débris* which was washed down, or which crept down, in the same way. It is important, therefore, that experienced observers should be called to note the situation as soon as possible after an implement is found; or better still, that local observers in the vicinity of the margin of the glaciated area should make a careful study of the glacial deposits in the river valleys, so as to be able themselves to detect and report all the important elements of the problem.

The search for palæolithic implements is likely for some time to be discouraging. For they are so rude in their character as not to strike the eye so readily as the more polished instruments of a later day; and, even in the most favored localities, the palæoliths are so few in comparison with the amount of gravel in which they are deposited that it is somewhat like looking for a needle in a haymow, and only the most practiced eye stands much of a chance to be rewarded by a discovery. Professor Lewis and myself, for example, have never been able to find a palæolithic implement, even in Trenton, though we have searched long and diligently for them. The secret of our failure doubtless arose from the fact that our attention had been so constantly directed to observing scratched stones and other glacial phenomena that we could not concentrate it upon anything else when looking upon a mass of gravel. But Professors Dawkins and Haynes, and even Dr. Abbott's twelve-year-old son, would find them in our tracks five minutes after we had walked over them, discovering as many as a half dozen in a walk of two or three hours. The secret of Dr. Abbott's success in discovering palæoliths at Trenton lies, however, not only in the fact that he has the trained eye of a careful observer, but that extensive excavations are continually in progress in the gravel deposits near where he lives. At one place near his house the river is extensively undermining the gravel bank and exposing fresh sections of the bluff; at other places pits have been dug to get at clay deposits, and at many others the railroads are removing the gravel for ballast. By taking advantage of these operations, he is able to make frequent observations under the most favorable circumstances. It is greatly to be desired that other observers similarly situated should be on the lookout for these earliest and most interesting remains of ancient man.

Another class of facts to which attention should be directed pertains to the determination of the date of the close of the glacial period. The means of attacking this important problem exist all over the glaciated



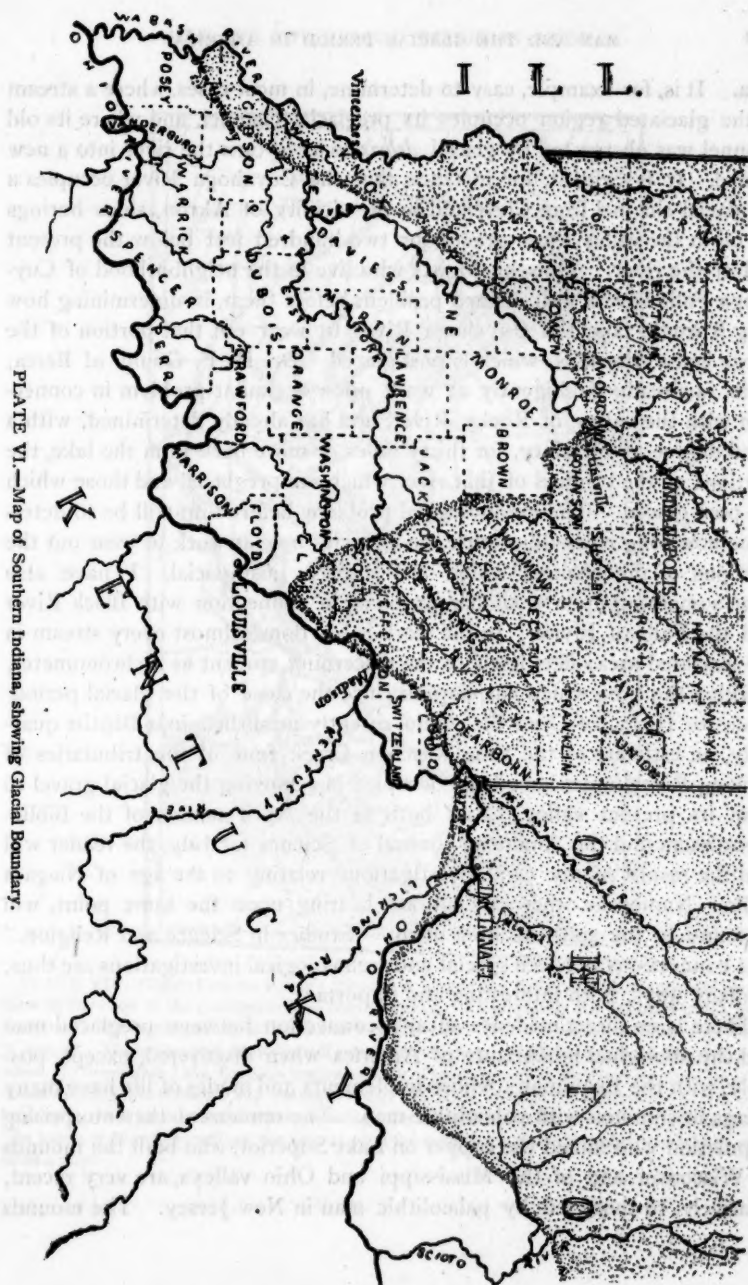


PLATE VI.—Map of Southern Indiana, showing Glacial Boundary.

area. It is, for example, easy to determine, in most cases, where a stream in the glaciated region occupies its preglacial channel, and where its old channel was obstructed by glacial *debris* so as to turn the river into a new course. It is evident, for instance, that the Cuyahoga River occupies a preglacial channel from Cleveland to the vicinity of Akron, since borings for oil in the valley show gravel for two hundred feet below the present bed of the river. Thus geologists who live in the neighborhood of Cuyahoga Falls have a well defined problem before them, in determining how long it would take the Cuyahoga River to wear out that portion of the gorge below the falls, which is post-glacial. Dr. H. F. Gould, of Berea, Ohio, is already intelligently at work upon a similar problem in connection with the valley of Rocky River, and has already determined, with a good degree of certainty, for thirty miles or more back from the lake, the portions of the channel of that river which are preglacial and those which are post-glacial. The chronological problem before him will be to determine how long it would require the agencies now at work to wear out the portions of the channel which are clearly post-glacial. I have also done something upon a similar problem in connection with Black River and the Falls of Elyria. In the work it has done, almost every stream in the glaciated area offers itself to the discerning student as a chronometer, marking the time which has elapsed since the close of the glacial period. Professor Hicks, of Granville, Ohio, recently published, in a Baptist quarterly, an estimate of the time Raccoon Creek (one of the tributaries of Licking River) must have been occupied in removing the glacial gravel to form its present valley. And both in the April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and the *American Journal of Science* for July, the reader will find the results of my own investigations relating to the age of Niagara Falls. Numerous other calculations, bearing upon the same point, will be found in the sixth chapter of my "Studies in Science and Religion." The connections between glacial and archæological investigations are thus, in many ways, both interesting and important.

There is no direct evidence of any connection between preglacial man and the aboriginal inhabitants of America when discovered, except, possibly, with the Esquimaux, whose implements and modes of life have many things in common with palæolithic man. The remains of the enterprising population who mined the copper on Lake Superior, who built the mounds of Wisconsin and of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, are very recent, relatively, to those left by palæolithic man in New Jersey. The mounds

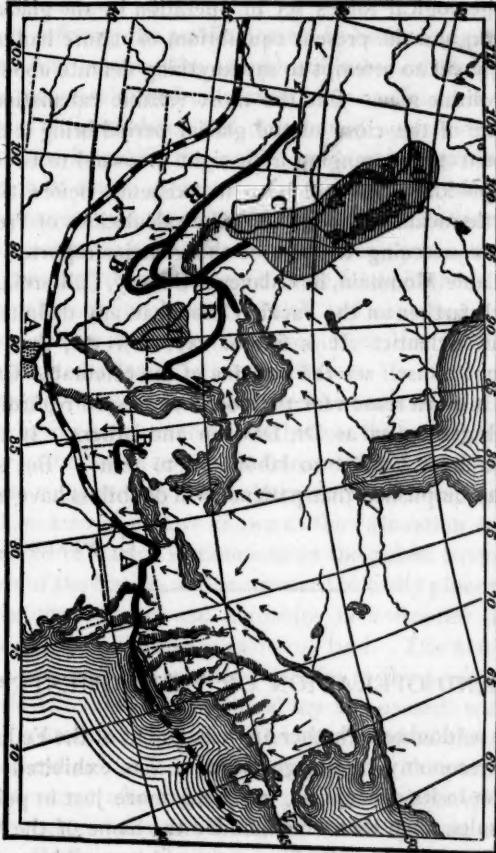


PLATE VII.—(Taken from the author's 'Studies in Science and Religion') gives a general survey, showing the whole of the glaciated area of North America. AA represents the boundary of the glaciated area. The continuous line is from actual survey in 1881. (For completion to Illinois, see Plates V. and VI. The broken part beyond is still somewhat conjectural.) BB marks special glacial accumulation. CC represents Lake Agassiz, a temporary body of water formed by the damming up by ice of the streams flowing into Hudson's Bay, the outlet being, meanwhile, through the Minnesota. D is a driftless region, which ice surrounded without covering. The arrows indicate the direction of glacial scratches. The kames of New England, and the terraces upon the western rivers, are imperfectly shown upon so small a map.

in the Scioto valley are upon the terraces, showing that they were built long after the geological forces set in operation by the glacial period had done their work, and the present equilibrium of nature had been attained.

It is too early yet to attempt to say anything definite about the chronology of palæolithic man. But the most reliable calculations made concerning the date of the close of the glacial period bring it down to comparatively recent times, ranging from eight thousand to twenty thousand years. But how long man had been in existence before that period we have as yet little means of knowing. The calculations of Professor Whitney, however, concerning the age of the remains reported to have been found under Table Mountain, in Calaveras County, California, would carry him back much farther on the Pacific Coast than any definite evidence we have upon the Atlantic. It is fair to say, however, that, as Professor Whitney did not himself see the remains of the celebrated Calaveras skull in place, there is much reason for the doubt expressed regarding the whole matter by such geologists as Dr. Dawson and others. In this whole investigation we must learn "to labor and to wait." But so much has already been accomplished that patience will doubtless have a rich reward.

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

---

#### HISTORY AND OPERATION OF THE HOMESTEAD LAW.

It may well be doubted whether any enactment of the Federal Congress, relating to the economy of the government, has exhibited a greater degree of wisdom in its conception, has been more just in policy, or beneficial in its results, than that which, under the name of the "Homestead Act," secures to every person who may see fit to avail himself of its privileges, a free home upon the unappropriated public lands. Like all the settlement and disposition laws, this measure was experimental in its inception, and regarded by many with misgivings and doubt, but it has successfully endured the test of time, dissolving all doubts as to its utility or effects, and after twenty years of practical operation is regarded as the only true method for the primary disposal of the public domain. It is the purpose of this article to briefly trace the origin, history and practical operation of this now world-famous law, which has exerted so marked and



beneficial an influence upon the moral and social status of the Western States and Territories.

The policy of offering the public domain in limited quantities, as a gift or premium to any person who would cultivate and make a permanent home thereon, was established only after long and earnest effort, and to the end was met with stubborn and determined opposition. During the earlier years of the Republic the public lands were regarded solely as an asset from which to derive a revenue for the payment of the current expenses of government and the extinguishment of the national debt. This idea was hard to overcome, and it required many years of unceasing labor to finally convince the people that these lands in the hands of industrious settlers, whose labor creates wealth and contributes to the public resources, were worth more to the government than if they had been reserved for unlimited sales to future purchasers.

The exact origin of the homestead movement cannot be stated. It was one of those measures which evolved slowly from the consciences of the people, and finally gathering in sentiment demanded and received recognition. It was doubtless suggested by the early preëemption laws, but received its first impetus from a series of laws known as the "Donation Acts." These laws were designed to induce settlements on the public lands in distant or dangerous parts of the Nation, and as a reward to hardy pioneers, who were willing to brave the dangers and hardships of a frontier life, conferred upon them the title to a limited quantity of land. The first of these acts was passed in 1842, and had special reference to the peninsula of "East Florida," and in 1850 a still more liberal law was passed, with special reference to the Territory of Oregon. The enactment of these laws gave a stimulus to the sentiment, then slowly maturing in the public mind, that the public lands were "a heritage of the people," and the question of free homes on every part of the public domain soon became a live and engrossing topic. It was not, however, until 1852 that it may fairly be said to have become a national question. In that year the Free-soil Democracy, which met in National Convention at Pittsburgh, Pa., voiced the popular sentiment by adopting as the twelfth resolution in their declaration of principles the following:

That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

From this time until the final passage of the law in 1862, it continued

to be one of the leading political issues of the day, finding expression in the press and on the stump, and embodied in the platforms of political parties. Public sentiment became hotly divided upon the subject, and numerous petitions for, as well as remonstrances against it, were presented to Congress. The measure was warmly advocated by the anti-slavery parties who saw in the future recipients of its bounties, the founders of states and cities with personal freedom as their basis, while the pro-slavery element opposed it for the converse reason. It met also the opposition of a large class, from every section of the country, who regarded the measure as a serious innovation upon existing methods and one calculated to disturb, if not overturn, the entire land system relating to settlement and disposition. But no opposition could stem the resistless tide of popular favor, which, year by year, was setting in toward this direction, and though the accident of the civil war, which removed from the National Legislature many who had theretofore opposed it, undoubtedly hastened the law, it must have come, in time, from its own inherent power.

From 1852 until 1862 the attention of Congress was repeatedly called to the matter of free homes by the incessant and constant demands of the friends of the measure, but no decided action seems to have been had until 1859, when a bill "to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain," was first introduced. In all its essential features this bill was the same as the one subsequently introduced, and which constitutes the present law. This bill, having passed through the preliminary stages, was, on February 1, taken up by the House and passed by a vote of 120 yeas to 76 nays, the Northern members mainly voting in the affirmative, the Southern in the negative. In the Senate the bill met a vigorous and determined resistance from the start. Mr. Wade (of Ohio), ably seconded by Mr. Doolittle (of Wisconsin), made many earnest but ineffectual efforts to procure its consideration, but the opposition, by the adroit use of dilatory motions, so managed as to prevent the bill from being taken up, and the session of Congress closed without any action being had thereon.

But the good work, having once been commenced, was not allowed to go down, and on March 6, 1860, Mr. Lovejoy (of Illinois), from the Committee on Public Lands, reported to the House a homestead bill previously introduced by Mr. Grow (of Pennsylvania), which, after having been read and referred, was on March 12, again passed by a vote of 115 yeas to 95 nays, the sections voting substantially as before, *i. e.*, the North for, and the South against, the measure. This bill, like its prede-

cessor, was then sent to the Senate, and there referred to the Committee on Public Lands. On April 17, Mr. Johnson (of Tennessee), the chairman of that committee, reported to the Senate a substitute for the House bill, granting homesteads to actual settlers, at twenty-five cents per acre, but, unlike the original bill, not including preëmtors then occupying the public lands. When this bill came before the Senate for action, Mr. Wade (of Ohio) moved to amend by substituting the House bill, but the motion was lost. On May 10, Mr. Johnson's bill passed the Senate, by a vote of 44 yeas to 8 nays, and was sent to the House, but that body refusing to concur, and the Senate refusing to recede, the result was a protracted conference on the part of the committee of both houses. Finally, however, on June 19, an agreement was arrived at, by the House accepting the Senate bill with slight amendments. To accomplish this end there had been twelve meetings of the conference committee, when the conferees on the part of the House, finding, after the most earnest efforts, that it would be utterly impossible for them to induce the Senate to agree to the House bill, suggested a number of minor changes which were accepted; and then, rather than the whole should fail, agreed to the bill. Mr. Colfax (of Indiana), in reporting the amended bill to the House, for and on behalf of the committee, stated that the compromise was but a single step in advance toward a more comprehensive and liberal homestead policy, which would be demanded at the next session of Congress. The main provisions of this amended bill permitted preëmtors to acquire their land at half the established price, and gave to homestead settlers who had completed a five years' residence, the same land at twenty-five cents per acre. The House agreed to the report of their conference committee by a vote of 115 to 51, and the Senate to the report of their committee by a vote of 36 to 2, and the bill, having thus passed both houses, was transmitted to the President for his approval.

On June 23, Mr. Buchanan returned the bill to the Senate with his veto, an act which at the time produced a burst of indignation at the North, and which is still regarded by many as one of the blemishes on his official career. But the year 1860 was a trying period in the history of the Republic. The animosities engendered by party feeling were bitter and virulent, and the acts of the administration harshly and severely criticised. The homestead bill was in many particulars a sectional measure, and its support or opposition confined strongly within party lines. Whatever may have been the animus which led to the President's disapproval,

it is certain that subsequent events have, in a measure, vindicated his course, while it is equally certain that the bill, as framed, presented a number of very undesirable features. The first objection raised by the President was that Congress, under the Constitution, had no power to give away the public lands, either to States or to individuals; an objection which he had previously raised to the Agricultural College Bill, but which has since been overruled and definitely settled by the Supreme Court. His second objection was, that it would prove unequal and unjust in its operation among the settlers themselves; that the old settlers had braved the dangers of savage warfare, suffered the privations of a frontier life, and with the hand of toil brought the wilderness under cultivation, paying the established Government price for their lands, and that it would not be justice or equality, after they had accomplished all this, to permit new settlers to come in among them and receive their farms for a comparatively nominal price. Third: That the bill would do great injustice to the old soldiers who had received land warrants for their services in fighting the battles of the country, by greatly depreciating the value of these warrants. Fourth: That the bill would prove unequal and unjust in its operation because confined exclusively to one class of the people, to-wit: the cultivators of the soil, leaving emigrant artisans and mechanics at a disadvantage. The bill also contained a cession to the States of all the public lands within their respective limits "which have been subject to sale at private entry, and which remain unsold after the lapse of thirty years." Against this the President lodged his fifth objection, as unjust to the old States of the Union; and as a sixth objection he alleged that the bill would open one vast field for speculation. The seventh objection is quite as pertinent to the present law as to the bill then under consideration, and that it may be more fully understood is here inserted:

We ought ever to maintain the most perfect equality between native and naturalized citizens. They are equal, and ought always to remain equal, before the laws. Our laws welcome foreigners to our shores, and their rights will ever be respected. While these are the sentiments on which I have acted through life, it is not, in my opinion, expedient to proclaim to all the nations on the earth that whoever shall arrive in this country from a foreign shore, and declare his intention to become a citizen, shall receive a farm of one hundred and sixty acres at a cost of twenty-five or twenty cents per acre, if he will only reside on it and cultivate it. The invitation extends to all; and if this bill becomes a law we may have numerous actual settlers from China, and other eastern nations, enjoying its benefits on the great Pacific slope. The bill makes a distinction in favor of such persons over native and naturalized citizens. When confined to such citizens it is confined to such as are the heads of families; but when applicable to persons of foreign birth, recently arrived upon our shores, there is no such restriction. Such persons need not be the heads of families, provided they have filed a declaration of intention to become citizens.



It has taken less than twenty years to demonstrate the force of this objection in the operation of a somewhat similar provision in the present law, and the officers of the land department are now urging a modification of the law so as to confine all its benefits to native or naturalized citizens.\* The final objection referred to the large diminution of the revenue which the law would occasion, and the veto closed as follows:

This bill lays the ax at the root of our present admirable land system. The public land is an inheritance of vast value to us and to our descendants. It is a resource to which we can resort in the hour of difficulty and danger. It has been managed heretofore with the greatest wisdom under existing laws. In this management the rights of actual settlers have been conciliated with the interests of the government. The price to all has been reduced from \$2.00 per acre to \$1.25 for fresh lands, and the claims of actual settlers have been secured by our preemption laws. Any man can now acquire a title in fee simple to a homestead of eighty acres, at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre for \$100. Should the present system remain we shall derive a revenue from the public lands of \$10,000,000 per annum, when the bounty land warrants are satisfied, without oppression to any human being. In the time of war, when all other sources of revenue are seriously impaired, this will remain intact. It may become the best security for public loans hereafter, in times of difficulty and danger, as it has been heretofore. Why should we impair or destroy this system at the present moment? What necessity exists for it?

The people of the United States have advanced with steady but rapid strides to their present condition of power and prosperity. They have been guided in their progress by the fixed principle of protecting the equal rights of all, whether they be rich or poor. No agrarian sentiment has ever prevailed among them. The honest poor man, by frugality and industry, can, in any part of our country, acquire a competence for himself and his family, and in doing this he feels that he eats the bread of independence. He desires no charity, either from the government or from his neighbors. This bill, which proposes to give him land at an almost nominal price, out of the property of the government, will go far to demoralize the people, and repress this noble spirit of independence. It may introduce among us those pernicious social theories which have proved so disastrous in other countries.

The bill was returned to the Senate, where the customary question: Shall this bill pass notwithstanding the objections of the President? was answered by a vote of twenty-eight in the affirmative to eighteen in the negative, and thus, failing to receive the requisite two-thirds vote necessary to pass it over the Executive veto, did not become a law.

Thus matters remained for another year, the exciting incidents attendant upon the breaking out of the civil war engrossing the larger part of public attention. But on July 8, 1861, a bill to secure homesteads to actual settlers was again introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Agriculture. Here it remained until December 4, when it was reported back by the chairman of that committee, but was again referred to the Committee on Public Lands. On February 28, 1862, the bill came up for consideration, and, after a few minor amendments had been added was put upon its passage, which resulted in a vote of 107 yeas to 16 nays. In the Senate, on March 25, Mr. Harlan, of the Committee

\* See Report Sec'y. Interior, 1883. Reports Public Land Commission, 1883.



on Public Lands, to whom the bill had been referred, reported it back with amendments. On May 2, Mr. Wade having moved the consideration of the bill, an effort was made to repeat the successful tactics of two years before, and Mr. Carlisle (of Virginia) offered a substitute for the whole bill, but the substitute was rejected. The original bill, as amended, was then acted upon and was passed by a vote of 33 for to only 7 against it. The succeeding events were not unlike what had transpired in regard to the former bill in 1860. The House refused to agree with the amendments of the Senate, while the Senate refused to recede, and so, as before, the matter went to a conference committee. In this instance, as in the former case, the House eventually succumbed, some minor changes being made, and the bill was sent to the President for his approval. On May 20, Mr. Lincoln affixed his signature, and on the twenty-seventh formally notified Congress of his approval. Thus, after ten full years of constant agitation, both in and out of Congress, this most salutary measure passed from the realm of speculation to substantial reality and became a law. Of the many thousands who have availed themselves of its beneficent provisions but few are aware of the cost or of the trials and difficulties which were encountered in the long quest which resulted so favorably for them.

This law secures to any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or shall have filed his declaration to become such, one quarter section, or less, of unappropriated public land upon the simple condition of permanent settlement and cultivation for the space of five years, and in case of his death his widow and heirs succeed to his rights. During this period he is protected from injurious creditors, and his lands cannot, in any event, become liable to the satisfaction of any debt contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor. The original act has been amended several times, but the amendments are mainly in the nature of an extension of its privileges, and commuting the term of residence in favor of honorably discharged soldiers and sailors.

The laws extending the homestead privilege require of the applicant the utmost good faith, and the entry can only be made for his own benefit and not for the benefit of others or for speculation, and, though the initiatory proceedings vest in the settler an inceptive right which ripens into a legal title by a faithful observance of the law, he is precluded from making any sale of his homestead claim before the full completion of his title.

The effect of this law throughout the entire region where the public lands are situated has been of a most beneficent character, saving a large portion of the country from being taken for the purpose of speculation, and giving to the Nation that stability so desired in every well ordered government, which only comes from citizens who possess proprietary rights in the soil. The present homestead law contains all of the beneficial features of the preëemption act, together with the additions suggested by experience and the changed condition of National life, and stands preëminent as one of the perfected outgrowths of our public land system. Under it, from the time it became operative until the close of the fiscal year in June, 1882, a period of just twenty years, there were made 552,112 original homestead entries, containing 67,043,189.79 acres, an area more than twice as large as the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Vermont combined, and equal to the combined area of those States and the States of Ohio and West Virginia in addition. How vast and far-reaching in its effects this law has been may be faintly suggested by this comparison. During the same period 194,488 final, or consummated, homestead entries were made and title passed by the Nation to individual citizens to an area aggregating 23,412,795.92 acres. These entries were made in all the Western States and Territories, and in five of the Southern States, Kansas taking the lead with 4,660,734.83 acres, and Indiana closing the list with 1,272.28 acres.

Active efforts have been made for several years to effect the repeal of all the present settlement and disposition laws; and it is not unlikely that the close of the present decade will see in this law the only method of original individual acquisition of title to Government lands.

Chicago, Ill.

GEO. W. WARVELLE.

## WHEN DID OHIO BECOME A STATE?

A difference of opinion prevails as to the time when Ohio became one of the States of the American Union. What specific act of Congress, of the Territorial Legislature, of the State Constitutional Convention, of the first State Legislature, of the President of the United States, or by the exercise of what other power (coördinate or independent), was it that brought Ohio on the pages of history as one of the United States, and what date does that act bear? These are a few of the questions that are frequently asked and variously answered. A word or two on the point in issue.

On the thirtieth of April, 1802, Congress, in obedience to the petitions of a large number of the people of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," passed an "Act to enable the people of the eastern division of said Territory to form a constitution and a State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on the equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes." It is because of this action of Congress that some persons think that April 30, 1802, was the birthday of our State.

Pursuant to the provisions of the foregoing Act of Congress, an election for choosing members of a constitutional convention was held on the second Tuesday of October, 1802, by the qualified electors residing within the prescribed limits. Said members met according to law, at Chillicothe, on the first day of November, 1802, formed a constitution which they completed by adopting and signing it on the twenty-ninth of November, 1802, declared it immediately operative and by the terms of the instrument itself devolved its execution upon the territorial officers, and then, with apparent success at least, ostensibly started the machinery of the State government; and because all these things were done then and there, many conclude that Ohio's history *as a State* had its beginning on the twenty-ninth of November, 1802.

This view is very much strengthened by the fact that the constitution not only *empowered* but *required* the Territorial officers to proceed to discharge the duties of their respective offices until their successors were

elected and qualified, the constitution requiring said election to be held in all the counties of the State, on the second Tuesday of January, 1803, for governor, members of both branches of the State Legislature, sheriffs and coroners, their terms of office respectively to date from March 1, 1803.

And it may also be observed that in the "Compendium of the Census tables for 1880," recently issued from the Department of the Interior, the twenty-ninth of November, 1802 (the day when the first constitution of Ohio was completed and signed), is recognized as Ohio's birthday. Many authorities concur in this view, including W. Hickey, in his edition of the Constitution, N. C. Towle, and numerous others.

Congress on the nineteenth of February, 1803 passed an "Act to provide for the due execution of the laws of the United States, within the State of Ohio;" and as this was an act of Congress which recognized Ohio as one of the States of the Union, and was an unequivocal expression of approval of our constitution, many think the nineteenth of February, 1803, should of course be considered Ohio's birthday. Caleb Atwater, in his 'History of Ohio'; Edward D. Mansfield, in his 'Political Manual'; G. W. Paschal, in his 'Annotated Constitution'; President I. W. Andrews, late of Marietta College, in a carefully prepared paper written for the Ohio Secretary of State's Report for 1879, advocate this view, as do many other writers and authors.

It is proper to say, as I do on the authority of President Andrews, that the State department of the general government recognizes the nineteenth of February, 1803, as the date of admission of Ohio into the Union as a State.

It should also be remembered that this act of the nineteenth of February, 1803, is called, in the book of 'Charters and Constitutions,' a volume compiled under an order of the United States Senate, "An act recognizing the State of Ohio, 1803," and "occupies the same place," says President I. W. Andrews, "in the arrangement of the work which is given in other States to the act of admission."

The constitution of Ohio, of November 29, 1802, provided for the first meeting of Ohio's first Legislature on the first day of March, 1803, and it *did meet* on that day, and on the third day of March inaugurated Governor Tiffin; and there are not a few who think that the history of Ohio, as a State, properly began with the meeting of our first State Legislature.

The old geography published in 1803, says that "Ohio was admitted

into the Union the winter following the convention held in the autumn of 1802." And scarcely more definite, or more valuable is the information given us in the 'American Cyclopedia,' (first edition,) that "Ohio was admitted into the Union as a State in 1803," which is the statement made by this high authority under the article "Ohio." Under the general title "United States," the same authority represents our State's admission or organization to have taken place in 1802. (See table No. 1.)

March 3, 1803, is the date of an "Act of Congress, assenting to certain modifications proposed by the convention, setting apart liberally of our lands for school purposes. This beneficent act of Congress, which so munificently deals with educational interests in Ohio, is such an unequivocal recognition of our State, that many think its full, complete admission ought to bear date March 3, 1803. But perhaps it is not solely because of the date of this enactment, but also because, on the same day, the Acting Territorial Governor (Charles Willing Byrd) retired from the governor's office, and the first State governor (Edward Tiffin), was inaugurated and took the oath of office on March 3, 1803, that some have reached the conclusion that on that day Ohio *first* became fully endowed with all the rights of an American State, being then, for the first time, placed in all respects on an equal footing with all the others, having now inaugurated a State governor, one they elected themselves, and having the right also to elect two United States Senators (which had not been done hitherto), and entitled to any and all rights and privileges that are enjoyed by other States of the Union. The author of the 'History of Athens County,' Ohio (C. M. Walker), advocates this view in the following paragraph:

Certain important changes concerning the school lands were made by the convention, on the proposition of Congress, under which the State was to come into the Union. Congress assented to the proposed modification by act of March 3, 1803, thus completing the compact and accepting Ohio as a State and a member of the Federal Union.

In these views the learned author of the 'Athens County History' is ably supported by many respectable authorities.

Congress, in the enabling act of April 30, 1802, indicated to the constitutional convention the kind of provision it thought ought to be made in the organic law of Ohio on the school question. The convention did not concur with Congress in those views, but forwarded theirs, and petitioned that body for a modification or enlargement of those educational provisions. Congress, after deliberately considering the subject, gave its full assent to the proposition of the convention on the third



of March, 1803, "thus completing the contract and accepting Ohio as a State."

The constitution of November 29, 1802, was adopted and signed by the members of the convention, but it was never submitted to the people or accepted by them, except tacitly. But it was subjected to the scrutiny of both houses of Congress, whose committees, after examination, on the nineteenth day of January, 1803, reported it to be in harmony with the principles contained in the ordinance of the thirteenth of July, 1787. In pursuance of the foregoing reports, a bill was presented, considered and subsequently passed by both branches of Congress, and on the nineteenth of February, 1803, it received the President's approval, which was essentially the approval of our constitution by Congress and the President, and this is by very many considered *the* legislative and executive act that procured Ohio's admission into the Union, notwithstanding our constitution lacked the direct vote of approval by the people. No acts passed by Congress pursuant to or in support of our constitution were ever declared invalid, or without public sanction or authority because of the non-submission of our constitution to a vote of the people.

I believe I have not the testimony at hand to establish the fact that the President of the United States ever helped forward our admission into the sisterhood of States by presidential proclamation, though it is probable that he did, for he, doubtless, in various ways, favored the measure. It seems to me that if he had, at any time, by proclamation, declared Ohio a State, the date of said proclamation would have been, by general consent, considered as *the time* of the admission of Ohio into the Union. I think it is fair to presume that Mr. Jefferson, our Chief Magistrate in 1802-3, looked upon the Presidential approval of this "act of February 19, 1803, to recognize Ohio," which was essentially an "act of approval of the constitution of Ohio of November 29, 1802," as *equivalent* to a proclamation, and as properly superseding the necessity of issuing one.

A word in recapitulation. On the thirtieth of April, 1802, Congress passed the enabling act. On the second Tuesday of October, 1802, the members of the constitutional convention were elected. They met at Chillicothe, November 1, 1802, framed and adopted the constitution, November 29, 1802, and forwarded it to Congress. On the second Tuesday of January, 1803, the governor, members of both branches of the State Legislature, sheriffs and coroners, were elected. The approval of our constitution by Congress and by the President was secured February 19,

1803. The Legislature met, and sheriffs and coroners took the oath of office March 1, 1803. The governor was inaugurated March 3, 1803. The law dedicating certain Ohio lands to educational purposes was also passed March 3, 1803. Soon after the meeting of the Legislature they elected two United States Senators, also State officers, including judges, and provided by law for the election of a member of Congress, which was done at an election held in all the counties of Ohio, June 21, 1803, Jeremiah Morrow being chosen without opposition, and having for his colleagues from Ohio, in the United States Senate, John Smith and Thomas Worthington.

And thus it was that "by slow degrees" we outgrew our territorial habiliments—learned to perform State duties—were qualified to enjoy State privileges—equipped to bear State burdens—disciplined to grapple with State exigencies—trained to meet State responsibilities—educated to encounter State emergencies.

ISAAC SMUCKER.

---

## THE INDIAN WAR IN OHIO.

### II.

During the spring of 1790 many reports and rumors reached Marietta of outrages perpetrated by the Shawnees at the mouth of the Scioto, but the Ohio Company's settlements were left undisturbed.

By fall, however, there were ominous indications of a general war. In June Major Doughty, with one hundred and fifty men from Fort Harmar, had gone down the Ohio and commenced building Fort Washington, within the present limits of Cincinnati. A little later, General Harmar arrived there with three hundred men, and his force being increased by the addition of nearly a thousand militia men from Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, he marched into the Indian country, and destroyed several large villages upon the Miami of the Lakes (Maumee). General Harmar's force suffered two defeats, one upon the nineteenth and the other upon the twenty-second of October, and lost a large number of men. The failure of this expedition was doubtless largely due to the inefficiency of the militia, and dissensions among the officers. General Harmar was

severely condemned, and his action was investigated by a court of inquiry, with the result, however, of exonerating him from blame. The Indians did not regard seriously the destruction of their towns, and seemed to magnify their victory over the army, it being currently reported among them that five hundred of the Americans had been killed. They were exasperated by the slight losses they had sustained through the invasion of their country, and emboldened by the fact that they had defeated the forces sent out against them. They made open threats now that "before the leaves should again come forth, not a single cabin fire of the whites should burn north of the Ohio." It was rumored that they were marching in large force against the settlements upon the Muskingum and the Miamis.

About the time that General Harmar set out to bring the Indians to terms, or to chastise them, the attitude of the British was fully revealed. Governor St. Clair sent a letter to the governor of Detroit, informing him of the expedition that was to be made, and that the United States had no intention of molesting any of the British posts, and also requesting that no aid be furnished the hostile Indians in the way of furnishing them arms or ammunition. The letter was delivered by Return J. Meigs, jr. (afterwards governor of Ohio), who, accompanied by John, a son of Commodore Abraham Whipple, made the perilous journey to Detroit through the great wilderness, inhabited only by savages, and trackless save for the narrow trails worn by moccasined feet. A horse which these men took with them to carry their provisions was stolen by the Indians, and they made the greater part of the journey on foot. The British governor received Meigs with every distant manner, but, after considerable delay, consented to return a formal answer, which was exceedingly non-committal in its character. Meigs was informed that it would be extremely hazardous to return to Marietta as he had come, even with a flag of truce, and he made therefore a long journey by water to Presque Isle, from thence over to the Allegheny and down that stream to the Ohio, and thence to his home by boat. Soon after this the Americans had positive proof that agents of the British were furnishing with military stores the very tribes which were most hostile.

General Harmar returned to the fort bearing his name in November, which, according to a good authority,\* had been, during a portion at least of his absence, in charge of one of the sergeants of militia, Colonel

---

\* Horace Nye in *Western Recorder*, 1847.

Joseph Barker. Captain Zeigler was, however, the officer in command most of the time during the Indian war.\*

Before the expedition of Harmar was entered upon, the Ohio Company had taken some precautions intended to strengthen the settlements within the purchase against Indian attack. The disastrous outcome of the campaign caused these measures for protection to be redoubled. Campus Martius was put in a good state of repair, and by authority of the Secretary of War an additional corps of men was raised to serve as guards for the several settlements. In November Colonel Sproat, commandant of the militia, was authorized to enlist scouts or rangers, and this number was subsequently increased to ten. They were sent out daily to scout the woods for signs of the enemy.

Hostilities had been continued upon the Ohio during the summer, and Governor St. Clair, writing to the Secretary of War upon the nineteenth of September, 1790, mentioned the fact that Captain McCurdy's boat had been fired upon between Marietta and Fort Washington, and that five or six men had been killed.

No events of serious nature, however, occurred within the limits of the Ohio Company's lands. Indians hovered around the settlements, and the indications of their presence were often discovered by the spies, but they committed no depredations other than stealing a few horses.

Indeed, so peaceful had been the lives of the pioneers during the season and so promising did the future appear that the regular occupations of the inhabitants were not only carried on, but new enterprises engaged their attention and new institutions were brought into being in the western world. For the convenience of the members the Belpre association had divided into three settlements, which were called the "upper," "lower," and "middle" stations. A new association had been formed, and in the fall of 1790 had made a settlement at Big Bottom,† upon the Muskingum, which had attracted attention from its great beauty and richness. The association was composed of thirty-six members, but only eighteen went originally to the station, and one of these, the leader of the little colony, Colonel William Stacey, it appears did not remain there. Isaac Meeks, a Virginia frontiersman, was employed as hunter in the

\* Testimony of the Ohio Company's journal; Dr. S. P. Hildreth in *American Pioneer* and *Pioneer History*; Thomas Wallcut's journal, etc.

† Big Bottom was so named because the broadest portion of the valley between the mouth of the Muskingum and Duncans Falls. Windsor township, of Morgan County (adjoining Washington upon the east and south), included this historic locality in its limits.

settlement, and brought with him his wife and two children. A block-house of good size was erected on the left bank of the river, and upon the lower bottom. One cabin was erected a short distance from the block-house, and was occupied by Francis and Isaac Choate, while another which had been a part of the "tomahawk improvement" made several years before by some Virginia squatter, was fitted up and occupied by Asa and Eleazer Ballard, brothers. These cabins were each about twenty rods from the defense which the associates built, the first above the latter below. The settlement was composed principally of young men, inexperienced, and poorly qualified to occupy the frontier part which they did.

"They had neglected," says Colonel Barker,† "to enclose their house with palisades, and ceasing to complete the work the general interest was lost in that of the convenience of each individual. Another error was the neglect of any regular system of defense, and the omission of setting sentries. Those most familiar with the Indians had little doubt of their hostility, and had strongly opposed the settlers going out that fall, and advised them to remain until spring, by which time the question of war or peace would probably be decided." They were impatient, however, and had gone out to invite, by their exposed situation, an Indian attack. And so it came about that the war began in earnest in the Ohio Company's purchase, at this settlement. The massacre which occurred here on the second of January, 1791, was the bloodiest event in the annals of the first settlement of Ohio, and it not only terrorized the inhabitants of Marietta, Waterford and Belpre, but sent a thrill of horror into all of the border settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania which left their people, accustomed as they had long been to Indian atrocities, filled with foreboding for many a day.

The early part of the winter of 1790-91 was of unusual severity, and this fact undoubtedly made not only the young men at Big Bottom, but the settlers at all of the other stations less careful in guarding against Indian attack than they would otherwise have been, for the winter was very generally regarded as a season when there was immunity from depredations by the savages, and especially was this true when it was one of great cold.\* The Indians, therefore, in making this attack in the winter,

†Reminiscences of Colonel Joseph Barker.—MSS.

\*Joseph Doddridge in his valuable and very reliable Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania (p. 206) has the following upon this topic:

"During the long continued Indian wars sustained by the first settlers of the western country they



made an exception to their common custom and exceeded their usual shrewdness. It is supposed that they had originally designed falling upon and massacring the settlers at Waterford (whom they had doubtless learned were not as watchful as they had formerly been), but that coming first to the Big Bottom settlement and recognizing their opportunity there, they had after holding a hasty council, decided to attack it.

The Indians, as it was subsequently learned, crossed the river upon the ice a few rods above the upper cabin, and then the warriors were divided into two parties. A small number of the savages made their way to the cabin occupied by the Choates and another and much larger party simultaneously, by a short detour, arrived at the block-house. No eye had observed them, and their quick but cautious approach had not started the dogs to barking. The Choate brothers and two men, Thomas Shaw and James Patten, who were living with them, were eating their supper, and upon the entrance of the Indians, it seems, supposed them to be friendly and invited them to partake. To avert suspicion until they could fully project their plan of action, the Indians did actually help themselves to food, but after a lapse of not more than two or three minutes, and after having disposed themselves about the apartment in such a manner as to best meet any resistance that might be made, they indicated by signs that their hosts were prisoners and quickly bound them with some throngs which they discovered in the cabin. The four men, taken by surprise and confronted by more than their own number, offered no opposition, and made no remonstrance. Scarcely a word was spoken. While quiet capture was effected at the cabin, a scene of carnage was being enacted at the block-house. The inmates had gathered around the large fire-place, some engaged in preparing the evening meal and others having come in from work warming themselves by the genial blaze, when the door was suddenly thrown open and a volley of musketry poured death into their midst. Several fell lifeless to the floor, and one, Zebulon Throop, who was bending over a frying pan in which he was cooking venison for supper, sank down upon the blazing logs. The shots were fired from without, while one of the Indians who had burst the door in held it open. No sooner had the guns been emptied than with a fiendish yell the sav-

---

enjoyed no peace excepting in the winter season, when owing to the severity of the weather the Indians were unable to make their excursions into the settlements. The onset of winter was therefore hailed as a jubilee by the early inhabitants of the country, who throughout the spring and the early part of the fall had been cooped up in their little uncomfortable forts. . . . To our forefathers the gloomy months of winter were more pleasant than the zephyrs of spring and the flowers of May."

ages leaped through the smoke to finish with their tomahawks the butchery begun with powder and ball. So sudden and fierce was the onslaught that but little resistance could be made, and one after another the inmates of the block-house were dispatched. Only one Indian was wounded, and he by the wife of Isaac Meeks, the Virginia hunter. She had witnessed the brutal slaying of her two children, had seen their brains dashed out and their bodies cast upon the fire, and with the courage of madness she seized an ax and struck wildly at one of the murderers. The blow came very near proving fatal at the instant (and did inflict a wound from which it was afterwards thought the Indian would die), but it was quickly avenged by a companion of the assaulted one, who, coming up behind her as the woman was again raising the heavy ax to strike, cleft her skull with his tomahawk. The air was filled with the wild yells of the Indians, the moans of the dying, the agonizing shrieks and the supplications of those on whom the cruel death blow had not yet descended. All were quickly dispatched except Phillip, a son of Colonel William Stacey, who, during the excitement of the massacre, had cowered down in a corner of the room and pulled some bed clothes over himself. He was discovered after the bloody work of killing and scalping the men had been completed, by an Indian who was assisting in gathering up the various articles of plunder to remove them. As soon as his hiding-place was revealed a tomahawk was raised to kill him, and the terrified boy, who threw himself at the feet of his would-be murderer, would have been dispatched in spite of his piteous entreaties if another Indian had not interposed to save him. His brother, John Stacey, was the last one of the party killed. He had managed, unperceived, to climb through a scuttle hole into the low upper story or loft of the house, and from there onto the roof, when he was fired upon and killed by some of the party who had remained outside during the progress of the butchering. On seeing the Indians upon the ground, and knowing that his last chance of escape was shut off, he had fallen down in despair and cried out: "I am the only one left, for God's sake spare my life," but the only answer was the ringing rifle shot and an exultant cry from the fierce warriors below him.

The Ballards—Asa and Eleazer—who had been drawn from their cabin by the noise of the muskets and the loud shouts of the savages—caught sight of young Stacey as he emerged upon the roof and heard his agonizing appeal to the merciless enemy, and quickly comprehending the situation sprang back into their cabin, secured their rifles and fled, keeping the

building between them and the Indians. They closed the door as they hurriedly left the cabin, and had got only a few rods away when they heard it burst open and the still bloodthirsty savages uttering imprecations and exclamations of chagrin upon discovering their escape. Of the nineteen persons imperilled in this sudden and unsuspected attack, these two men were the only ones who escaped. Four were taken prisoners at the Choate cabin, and one, the boy—Philip Stacey—at the block-house, while twelve were killed. Their names were Ezra Putnam, Zebulon Throop, John Stacey, John Camp, Jonathan Farewell, James Couch, John Clark, William James, Isaac Meek, his wife and two children. Colonel William Stacey, William Smith, and some of the other associates were not present at the time of the attack. Had the first named been at the block-house the massacre would very likely have been prevented, and even had his advice been acted upon the great calamity might have been averted. Only a few days before the massacre he had urged the young men to put their block-house in better order to resist an attack, should one be made, to discontinue work at sundown, have doors and windows securely closed, palisades erected around the building, and sentries posted at good points of observation to warn the little garrison of the approach of an enemy. Had these precautions been observed it would have been impossible for the Indians to have made a successful attack, or at least to commit a wholesale murder as they did. The men had good arms and a sufficient number of them, but they were standing in the corner of the block-house when the Indians, without any warning, entered and overwhelmed the surprised and terror-stricken group gathered about the fire.\*

The escape of the Ballards was very fortunate. Had the Indians succeeded in capturing or killing them, they doubtless would have come down on the Waterford and Wolf Creek Mills settlements and repeated the horrors of the Big Bottom massacre, but as the two men had fled they surmised that they would carry warning to those stations, and the party returned, with the exception of a few forming a scouting band, who, it was subsequently discovered, penetrated the forest to the southwest and hovered threateningly around Wolf Creek Mills.

The Ballards in their flight came upon a hunting camp about four miles

---

\*The story of the massacre is taken principally from Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, as are many of the local incidents of the Indian war. Other authorities on the same subjects have been consulted, viz: The recollections of Colonel Barker (MSS), and a series of valuable papers by Horace Wye, published in the *Western Recorder* in 1847.

from the scene of the massacre, and there found Captain Joseph Rodgers, an experienced woodsman (who was afterwards a ranger or spy for the Marietta settlement) and a friendly Mohican Indian. They were wrapped in their blankets and asleep by the fire. Awakened and told the probable fate of the Big Bottom settlers, they seized their guns and leaving everything else behind them that they might make greater haste, started out in the darkness for the settlement at the mills. On arriving there they found that many of the heads of families were in Marietta, attending the court of quarter sessions, and the news that they brought caused the utmost agitation among the women and children. Captain Rodgers immediately assumed direction of the preparations for defence, and his presence did much towards allaying the feeling of consternation which filled the minds of the people. The situation was a desperate one. There had been no block-house erected here as the Ohio Company directors had suggested there should be, and the absence of a number of the men materially increased the danger to which the remainder would be subjected in case of an attack, which was momentarily expected. Captain Rodgers' word was law, and he hastily notified all the inhabitants to assemble in Colonel Robert Oliver's cabin, which was the largest and strongest. Water was carried from the creek until all the tubs, casks, buckets, and other available articles were filled, and others prepared to quench the flames should the Indians set fire to their cattle fort, and the windows and doors strongly barricaded, the company passed the long night, fearing, hoping, praying, peering into the darkness through the loop holes which had been made between the logs, listening for any sound that should bring intelligence of the stealthy enemy, waiting with tense nerves for whatever might come, and resolved, should it be the worst, to defend themselves as best they could, and sell their lives as dearly as possible. There were about thirty persons, men, women and children, crowded in the little cabin, and of this number only seven were men. Outside, under cover of some palings, was posted a sentry. Just before dawn he saw some Indians approach, and it was feared that they would make an attack, but as they undoubtedly saw that the people were on their guard they retreated in a short time. Daylight brought a very blessed relief to the feelings of the women and children, and even the men, for they had had every reason to apprehend an attack.

The people of Waterford had been made acquainted with the news of the attack on the Big Bottom settlement in the night, by Samuel Mitchell



from the mills. The settlement extended nearly two miles along the river, but every cabin was visited, either by Mitchell or by James and Daniel Convers, whom he had aroused first to help him spread the alarm. As the news was carried from door to door, terrified people, aroused from their sleep, came hurrying to the block-house, carrying little else than such arms as they could command. Seventy persons passed the night in a room about fifteen feet square. There were more men here, in proportion to the total number of inhabitants, than at the mills, and the block-house was considered a very good defence, and, while the situation was not as harrowing as at the last named settlement, the people nevertheless passed a night which was full of apprehension and suspense.

Two days after the massacre, Captain Rodgers led a company of men to Big Bottom. They met a company from Marietta, headed by Anselem Tupper, and together they found that the Indians, after taking the lives of the twelve persons and carrying a quantity of provisions out of the house, had pulled up the flooring, piled it over the bodies of their victims and set fire to the whole. The block-house had not long been built, was constructed of beech logs, and had been only partly consumed. Most of the bodies, however, were so disfigured by the tomahawk and by fire as to be unrecognizable. William James' remains were identified by his great size; he had measured six feet four inches in stature and was of massive build otherwise. The ground being frozen very hard, a grave was dug within the walls of the big cabin, where it had been prevented from freezing by the fire, and there these victims of a savage war were buried, side by side as they had fallen, and the charred charnel-house remained in the now solitary and soundless forest as a grim shelter from the rain and snow, a desolate monument to the memory of the brave, unfortunate pioneers who slept beneath it, and a landmark which, to the hunter or scout, passing it afar off, had a horrible suggestiveness of the fate which might be his. No attempt was made to again form a settlement here until after the Greenville treaty had been made in 1795. This beautiful locality in the valley of the Muskingum is now pointed out to travelers as the scene of a terrible Indian massacre in early times, but there remains no relic there of the bloody event which made it classic ground in border annals. The landscape is one of gentle, pastoral loveliness, which seems to hold in sympathy, as its appropriate settings, human habitations—the abodes of simple but satisfying happiness—and the beholder may feel arise within him, as he reflects upon the past and contemplates the present, the rever-



ent phantasy that, in recompense for the dark deed which once outraged Nature here, the Creator has breathed upon her bosom the benison of eternal peace.

Of the five men taken prisoners at Big Bottom, one, young Philip Stacey, died of sickness; the other four were ultimately returned to their friends.

The party of Indians, which numbered twenty-five to thirty, it was discovered were Delawares and Wyandots—tribes which had heretofore been at peace with the whites. But they had now been drawn into the alliance of hostile tribes, and a war club was found upon the ground of the massacre, left as a formal declaration of war.

ALFRED MATHEWS.

---

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL HISTORY.

The "Pastoral Letter of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore," besides matter purely doctrinal and ecclesiastical of which it treats, is replete with suggestions and advice which cannot but be acceptable in every Christian home. Its appeal in behalf of the extension of higher studies, as well as education in general, is thoroughly American. But what more especially concerns us just now, and to which particular attention is directed, is the advanced stand taken by the council in favor of historical studies, which, it is insisted, the citizen should cultivate as a duty he owes his country. "Train your children to a love of history and biography," says the council; and its words are like the music of far off bells to those who have been pleading, since long years, the cause of history as entitled to far more consideration than it receives amid the clamor of what is called science, overwhelming in its din and monopolizing in its pretensions. The grave words of the letter emphasize the fact that historical studies, though of the highest importance, are too much neglected.

The promoters of the Magazine of Western History, long before their project took form, recognized what the council so emphatically declares ought to be; and while seeking, as was prudent as well as legitimate, their own ends in establishing this monthly, at the same time they believed they were providing for a real want. There is no better means to promote practical acquaintance with history among the people than a magazine devoted exclusively to it, conducted honestly and with a fair measure of ability. In purely literary work the manner now-a-days counts for so

much that if not fairly up to the standard, the matter, however good, receives little attention. Says one of the acutest intellects of our time: "This is not a day for great writers, but for good writing and a great deal of it. There never was a time when men wrote so much and so well, and that without being of any great account themselves." But in bringing out the facts of the past accuracy of statement is more important than style. In historical writings, above all, the truth—facts as they are, should be given. Now this can be done with a fair measure of success, by any person of moderate ability if willing to devote the necessary time to research. All things may be accomplished by application and labor, according to the poet whose words are adopted as the motto of a series begun in the present number; and therefore it is within the power of many persons to make valuable contributions to history, although they may not rival a Parkman in setting the truth in a golden frame of language.

The special aim of this Magazine is local history—that is western history in general, and its local history and biography in particular. For years to come new facts, new documents will be making their appearance and to bring them before the public, to point out their value and their bearing, is the special province of this Magazine; and besides the occasional retelling, in short readable papers, of what is unsufficiently known, keeps alive in memory that knowledge of the history of his own region which every person that claims to be moderately well informed, should possess.

The following is the language of the letter of the council: "Train your children to a love of history and biography. . . Teach your children to take a special interest in the history of our own country. We consider the establishment of our country's independence, the shaping of its liberties and laws as a work of special Providence, its framer's 'building wiser than they knew,' the Almighty's hand guiding them; and if ever the glorious fabric is subverted or impaired it will be by men forgetful of the sacrifices of the heroes that reared it, the virtues that cemented it, and the principles on which it rests, or ready to sacrifice principle and virtue to the interests of self or party. As we desire, therefore, that the history of the United States should be carefully taught in all our Catholic schools, we have directed that it be specially dwelt upon in the education of young ecclesiastical students in our preparatory seminaries; and also we desire that it form a favorite part of the home library and home reading. We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past." O. W. C.

## WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Notable among the ancient and honorable families of Virginia, in the days when that State was one of the colonies and a dependency of Great Britain, were the Harrisons. The ancestor of the family in this country was a lineal descendant of that General Harrison who achieved distinction in the civil wars of England as an officer in the Army of the Commonwealth. Prominent among those of a later generation was Benjamin Harrison, a member, and for many terms Speaker, of the House of Burgesses. Chosen to the first Continental Congress, in June, 1776, he introduced the resolution declaring the colonies independent, and, on the fourth of July, as chairman of the committee of the whole, reported the Declaration of Independence as finally adopted, and to which his signature is affixed. He was soon afterward elected Governor of Virginia, an office demanding in that day, when the issue of the conflict already begun was in grave doubt, a degree of moral bravery and fearlessness that was in itself sublime. Faithful in the discharge of the duties incumbent upon the office to which he was elected, he did valiant service for the cause of freedom in the colonies, devoting his entire private fortune to the carrying forward of the war to a successful issue, and died in 1791, beggared, it is true, but proud in the consciousness that the sacrifices he had shared had resulted in the freedom of a nation.

Of the family of fifteen children of Benjamin Harrison, William Henry Harrison was the third and youngest son. Born near the James River, in Berkeley, Charles City County, Virginia, February 9, 1773, he passed an uneventful boyhood and youth, and at an early age entered Hampden-Sydney College, where he obtained a classical and literary education, afterwards supplemented by the study of medicine, to which, however, he devoted but a short time. On the death of his father, in 1791, he was placed under the guardianship of Robert Morris, the financier of the confederated colonies in the war of the Revolution. Before completing his medical studies, the atrocities committed by the Indians upon the defenseless pioneers in the border settlements aroused in him the spirit inherited from his martial ancestors, and he determined to forego the study of med-

icine and devote himself to the protection of the frontier. Mr. Morris endeavored to dissuade him from his purpose, but in vain; and a communication from President Washington, long the friend of his father, confirmed him in his determination. He soon received from the President a commission as Ensign of Artillery, and in 1791 joined the army at Fort Washington.\* Reinforcements being demanded for Fort Hamilton, on the Miami, the young officer was placed in command of the escort; so well did he perform this duty, passing through a forest infested by hostile Indians, as to merit and receive the commendation of his commander, General St. Clair. Soon followed the rash advance of that unfortunate general, which resulted in the loss of more than one-half his entire army. Harrison did not accompany this expedition, but remained at the fort. The confidence of his superiors being well established, in the course of 1792 he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and late in the fall of that year joined the new army then encamped at Legionville, some twenty miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio River. The commander of the legion, General Anthony Wayne, recognizing in Lieutenant Harrison an officer of fine mental acquirements for one of his years, made him a member of his military family, attached to himself as aide-de-camp. During the greater portion of a year the troops remained in quarters, Wayne devoting the time to promoting the efficiency of the army in drill and discipline. The school in which he now found himself had great effect on the future development of Lieutenant Harrison. It was here he learned that the intimate combination of men as a whole, subject to the command of an intelligent leader, was of prime necessity in the formation of an effective army.

Late in April, 1793, the command embarked in boats and proceeded to Cincinnati, taking post at Fort Washington. Drill and discipline were continued near the fort, until the seventh of October, when an advance was made to a point six miles beyond Fort Jefferson, where were erected fortifications which were given the name of Greenville. Delays were here experienced, and the season being advanced, preparations were made for a winter encampment; the garrisons at Cincinnati, Marietta, and Vincennes were strengthened, in preparation for offensive operations in the early spring. Late in December an expedition was dispatched by General Wayne to take possession of the battle-ground lost by St. Clair two years previously. The command arrived on the field on Christmas

---

\*Situating on land now included in the city of Cincinnati.

day, and immediately set about erecting a strong stockade, which was garrisoned by one company each of riflemen and artillery. This post was then named Fort Recovery, in commemoration of the recovery of the territory lost by St. Clair and all but one of the cannon left on the field of defeat. On the return of the command to Fort Greenville, Lieutenant Harrison was among the number of officers mentioned by name in the general orders of the commander, returning thanks to the force that had so readily accomplished the purpose to which it was ordered. On the thirtieth of June, 1794, the fort at Greenville was attacked several times by a force of Indians and British, numbering about one thousand. In repelling the assault the Americans lost fifty-seven men and two hundred and twenty-one horses. The losses of the besieging parties were much larger. On the twenty-sixth of July, Wayne was reinforced by sixteen hundred Kentucky mounted riflemen, under Major-General Scott, and two days later he broke camp and slowly and stealthily advanced twenty-five miles beyond Fort Recovery, where another stockade was erected, which he named Fort Adams. Another advance was made on the fourth of August, and four days later the command encamped at the confluence of the Maumee and Auglaize rivers, where he built Fort Defiance.\* On the fifteenth of August an advance was made to the head of the rapids, where was established Fort Deposit, a base of supplies and baggage, with strong military defenses. On the nineteenth a council of war was called, at which Lieutenant Harrison submitted a plan of march and order of battle, which was adopted. For subordinate officers General Wayne had Major-General Scott, of the Kentucky volunteers, and Brigadier-Generals Wilkinson, Todd and Barber. On the twentieth advance was made to the Fallen Timbers, an extensive wet prairie which was rendered almost impassable by fallen trees leveled by the force of a terrific tornado. Here was met the first check of the campaign. The advance corps was fired upon by the enemy, who were concealed in the timber, and fell back in confusion. The main force was then formed in two lines in the dense wood near by, and under the leadership of their brave and daring commander, dashed forward upon the enemy, whose force numbered fully two thousand Indians and Canadian volunteers. The onslaught was terrific, and the undisciplined savages, with their white allies, were unable to withstand the sharp bayonets of the regulars and the murderous fire of the Kentucky sharpshooters. In less than one hour the battle was won and the

---

\*The present site of Defiance, Ohio.



enemy in full retreat, having in their haste left forty of their dead on the field. Of their total loss nothing definite is known, the Indian custom being, when defeated, to remove the bodies of the slain. The American loss in this battle was one hundred and thirty-three. In his dispatch to the Secretary of War, General Wayne specially complimented his aids De Butt, Lewis and Harrison—for their faithful exertions in having “rendered the most essential service by communicating orders in every direction, and for their conduct and bravery in exciting the troops to press for victory.”

Three days and three nights did the American army remain on the ground, during that time destroying the growing crops of the Indians, and committing to the flames the extensive trading station and dwellings of Colonel McKee, the British agent to the Indians; all this time menaced by the guns of Fort Miami, which had been erected by the British troops on American soil. Sharp correspondence passed between General Wayne and the British major in command of the fort; the latter, however, did not care to precipitate hostilities, and prudently confined himself to a war of words.

Having accomplished the object of his expedition, Wayne retired to Fort Defiance; about the middle of September moving to the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, at the head of the Maumee, where he constructed a strong fortification, which he called Fort Wayne. Colonel Hamtramck was left in command, with a considerable force of artillery and infantry, and the army returned to Forts Washington and Greenville, where the volunteers were discharged. The following summer a treaty of peace was concluded at Greenville by General Wayne and representatives of twelve Indian tribes, which secured to the United States about twenty-five thousand square miles of territory and assured a peace which continued fifteen years.

Soon after returning from the Maumee campaign, Harrison was commissioned captain, and promoted to the command of Fort Washington. While here he renewed a former acquaintance with Miss Anna Symmes, daughter of John Cleves Symmes, whose residence was at North Bend, near by. Judge Symmes refused his consent to the marriage of the young artillery captain to his daughter, and the ceremony that united them was performed in his house during his temporary absence. Several weeks passed before the stern father met his son-in-law, at a dinner party given by General Wilkinson to General Wayne. On that occasion he

said: "Well, sir, I understand you have been married to Anna." "Yes, sir," replied the young captain. "How do you expect to support her?" inquired the father. "By my sword and my own right arm," Harrison responded. Judge Symmes soon after became reconciled to Captain Harrison, and regarded with pride his advancement to the governorship of Indiana Territory, and the *eclat* surrounding the hero of Tippecanoe, Fort Meigs and the Thames.

Harrison continued in the army until near the close of 1797, when occurred the death of Wayne, soon after which he resigned his commission, conceiving, now that peace was concluded with the Indians, there would be no immediate demand for his services in the field. Scarcely was his resignation accepted, when he was appointed by President Adams secretary and *ex-officio* lieutenant-governor of the Northwest Territory. General Arthur St. Clair was at the same time appointed governor of this large Territory. The official residence was determined at Chillicothe, where met the first Legislature, in 1798. In October of the following year Harrison was elected by the Legislature to a seat in the National House of Representatives. Resigning the office of secretary, he proceeded to Washington and entered upon his duties as Representative at the opening of the first session of the Sixth Congress, in 1799. Although his service in Congress was limited to one year, during that time he was instrumental in securing the adoption of laws giving important advantages to the inhabitants of the Territory. These were comprised, first, in a joint resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands into small tracts, thereby allowing every industrious man, however poor, to procure a home. This resolution was carried in both houses, notwithstanding the determined opposition of speculators, who were intent on accumulating wealth at the cost of the bone and sinew of the country. By the second was obtained an extension of time for persons who had preëmpted land in the northern part of the Miami purchase, thus allowing them to secure their farms, and eventually become independent and even wealthy. These efforts for the promotion of the welfare of the actual colonists and pioneers, endeared him to the people, and in the future became an element of strength in his political advancement. At this same session of Congress the Northwest Territory was divided, and the Territory of Indiana established, of which Harrison was appointed governor. The new Territory, when organized, included the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

Beside the appointment of governor, Mr. Harrison also received the appointment of superintendent of Indian affairs in the Territory. Resigning his seat in Congress, Governor Harrison proceeded to Vincennes, the capital of the Territory. Here, in 1805, was organized a Territorial Legislature. As governor, Harrison possessed the power of appointment of magistrates, the confirmation of land grants, the defining of townships, the veto over acts of the Legislature, besides other perplexing and important duties. Personally popular with the Indians, he was enabled, before the close of 1815, by a succession of treaties, to extinguish their title to forty-six thousand acres of land within the Territory, which was thus thrown open to settlement. His management of affairs in the Territory was conducted with prudence and energy, in the face of almost unnumbered obstacles presented by speculators in lands, settlement of treaty regulations with the Indians, and questions arising from defective land titles. One great evil he had to contend with was the demoralization of the Indians through their inordinate appetite for whisky, which was brought into the Territory in vast quantity. He wrote, in 1805: "I do not believe that there are more than six hundred warriors on the Wabash, and yet the quantity of whisky brought here annually for their consumption is said to amount to six thousand gallons."

The course pursued by speculators in ejecting the Indians from the ceded lands was cause of grave alarm, and bore fruit before many years had passed in the formation, by Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet, of a league against the colonists. First among their allegations was the claim that the treaty by which was ceded much of the territory then in course of settlement, was fraudulent, and therefore void. The Fort Wayne treaty, by which the United States purchased nearly three millions of acres of land contiguous to the Wabash and White rivers, which was concluded September 30, 1809, by Governor Harrison and the Delaware, Pottawatomie, Miami, Kickapoo, Wea and Eel River Indians, for the consideration of eight thousand two hundred dollars in hand and annuities amounting to two thousand dollars, was vigorously condemned both by Tecumseh and the Prophet, though none of their tribe had any claim to the land in question. The fire of discontent was fanned into flame by British emissaries, who urged the Indians forward by promising assistance in driving back the trespassers. The ground of objection of the Indian leaders was that the entire domain was owned in common by all the tribes,

and that no part of the territory could be sold without the consent of all.

The machinations of Tecumseh and the Prophet spread the seeds of discontent among the Indian tribes far to the south, west and north. The former was a man of great executive ability, and had he possessed the education and training given officers in the armies of the world, would have acquired distinction as a general; under the circumstances surrounding him he was great as an organizer, strong in the affections of his people, brave and fearless on the field of battle. Not so much can be said of his brother, the Prophet, who employed only the arts of Indian magic, and by a long-continued course of deception played upon the superstitions of the ignorant children of the forest. For many years besotted by whisky, he finally professed to have seen, in a vision, the Great Spirit, who ordered him to call together the people and warn them against drunkenness, lying, stealing, and witchcraft. His vision was a part of the scheme of Tecumseh, who was the great leader in the Indian outbreak connected with the war of 1812. The influence of the Prophet extended over many tribes in the Northwest Territory, and was continuous in the effort to provoke hostilities against the whites. He even assured his adherents that he possessed the power to prevent the bullets of their enemies doing them harm. The governor received information concerning the confederation forming, and sent a messenger to the Shawnees, warning them against the intrigues of the Prophet. That imposter prophesied the destruction of the entire earth, with the exception of a small portion surrounding Greenville, and great numbers of his deluded followers, neglecting their cornfields, assembled in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, where they were soon reduced to the verge of starvation. Thus were remote tribes brought under the direct influence of the Prophet, who foretold a brilliant future for his people. Conciliation being a prominent feature in the policy pursued by the governor, he furnished the suffering people with provisions and other necessities from the public stores. Many of them departed for their homes, only to fall by the wayside, overcome by hunger, there to die, victims of their own superstitious belief and the overweening ambition of the false prophet.

At some time during the year 1808, the Prophet established his residence on the Upper Wabash, at a place called Tippecanoe. In the early spring of 1810, growing signs of discontent began to manifest themselves at the Prophet's town; the "annuity salt" was refused, and the boatmen



who brought it were insulted. These indications of coming trouble soon reached the ears of the governor, and in July he despatched a messenger to the Upper Wabash, with instructions to invite the brothers to a council at Vincennes. They were requested to bring with them not more than thirty warriors, as the council was designed for a quiet talk over the question uppermost in the minds of all. On the twelfth of August Tecumseh arrived at Vincennes, accompanied by four hundred warriors, fully armed, who encamped in a grove adjoining the town. Seats for the chiefs had been prepared under the portico of the governor's house, where it was proposed the council be held. To this place Tecumseh demurred, saying: "Houses were built for you to hold councils in; Indians hold theirs in the open air." He then took position under some trees in front of the house, where he opened the council with a speech of great native eloquence. At the close he was invited, through an interpreter, to take a seat beside the governor. In a scornful tone he replied: "The sun is my father and the earth is my mother; on her bosom I will repose," then seated himself upon the ground. In the discussions in the council he expressed the determination to abide by the decision he had made some time since, and by a confederation of the tribes establish the principle of community of interest in the lands of the country, as ordained by the Great Spirit. In demanding return of the lands acquired by the United States by the treaty of Fort Wayne, he said: "Return those lands and Tecumseh will be the friend of the Americans. He likes not the English, who are continually setting the Indians on the Americans."

In his reply to Tecumseh, Governor Harrison ridiculed the idea that the Great Spirit ever intended the Indian tribes to be one people. He said: "If such had been His intention He would not have put six different tongues into their heads, but would have taught them all to speak one language." As to the land in dispute, the Shawnees had nothing to do with it; the lands were purchased of the Miamis, who owned it when the Shawnees were driven out of Georgia by the Creeks, and how they disposed of it was no business of the Shawnees. When the governor's words were interpreted to Tecumseh, with eyes flashing with anger he cast aside his blanket and fiercely exclaimed: "It is false;" then signaling the warriors grouped about him, they sprang to their feet, brandished their weapons in a threatening manner, and for some moments it seemed that a conflict was inevitable. The governor's guard of twelve men had been allowed to seek shelter from the burning rays of the sun, under the



shade of a tree at a little distance, and on the indication of trouble were immediately ordered up. A friendly Indian cocked the pistol he had stealthily loaded while Tecumseh was speaking, while the spectators, who were unarmed, hastily seized upon such weapons as they could grasp. The governor rose from his chair, drew his sword, and restrained the guard, which was about to fire on the Indians, and a bloody encounter was averted. He then inquired of the interpreter the cause of the excitement, and after it was made known to him, he denounced Tecumseh as a bad man, and ordered him to depart with his warriors. The council was broken up, and was followed by a sleepless night in Vincennes, the citizens awaiting in anxious expectation an assault from the offended savages. Morning came with no further cause for alarm; Tecumseh expressed regret for the violence he had displayed, and the council was resumed. As a check upon further demonstrations, the governor placed two companies of well armed troops in the village, for the encouragement and protection of the citizens. Tecumseh forebore his offensive insolence, but when asked if he proposed to adhere to his opposition to the treaty, replied that he should "adhere to the old boundary." Five different chiefs arose and avowed their determination to proceed in the confederation and uphold the plan proposed by their leader.

Harrison much desired to conciliate Tecumseh, believing with the influence of that great warrior on the side of peace, no trouble need be apprehended in the immediate future. On the day following the second council, accompanied only by Joseph Barron, the interpreter, he visited the warrior at his camp, and in a friendly interview of some length advised him to relinquish his opposition to the treaty. Tecumseh's reply was: "Well, as the Great Chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put enough sense into his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out." The interview closed by the governor promising to inform the President of the wishes of the Indians. Tecumseh, with his followers, returned to the Prophet's town, where were continued the efforts to unite the tribes into a confederation, with some degree of success. The spring of 1811 witnessed many Indian depredations; isolated families were murdered, horses stolen, and the entire border was kept in a constant state of alarm. The governor sent to the brothers a message in the care of Captain Walter Wilson, who was ac-

accompanied by the scout, Joseph Barron. The Indians were warned that unless they ceased their warlike preparations they would be attacked and punished for the atrocities already committed. Tecumseh received the messengers with consideration, and returned a promise to see the governor soon. His appearance at Vincennes on the twenty-seventh of July, accompanied by a party of three hundred Indians, though not unexpected, was certainly unwelcome to the alarmed inhabitants. However, the presence of seven hundred and fifty militia, who were reviewed in his presence by the governor, had the effect to awe him, and he exhibited none of the haughtiness that characterized the previous interview. Still insisting upon vacation of the ceded lands, he yet professed friendly intentions and a desire for peace. The insincerity of his protestations was assured when, on his departure from Vincennes a few days later, he turned his face toward the south, in an effort to secure the coöperation of the Creeks, Chocktaws and Cherokees.

About this time it was proposed by the Government that Tecumseh and the Prophet be seized and held as hostages for the good behavior of their people. Governor Harrison suggested as a better plan, that an advanced military post be established on the upper Wabash, near the Prophet's town. The suggestion being favorably considered, on the twenty-sixth of September he left Fort Knox, at Vincennes, in command of about nine hundred effective men, and on the third of October arrived at the site of an old Indian village,\* where immediate steps were taken to erect a stockade fort. On the twenty-eighth the defenses were completed, and the fort was named in honor of the commander, Harrison. A small garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, was stationed at the fort, while the main body moved forward toward the Prophet's town. On the sixth of November, and when within five miles of the town, numerous small bodies of Indians were seen hovering in the distance. The alarm of the Indians had visibly increased when the army reached a point a mile and a half distant from the town, and a parley was demanded. A professedly friendly message was received from the Prophet, who hoped the soldiers would not enter the town and needlessly frighten the women and children. The governor assured the messengers he was ready to have a friendly talk with them; the troops were conducted to a camping ground where they could remain until the following day, when a council would be held. The ground proposed by the Indians was not such as would be

---

\*Near the present town of Terre Haute, Indiana.

chosen by a military commander for defense against the wily savages. In his report to the secretary of war, Governor Harrison thus describes it:

"I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was, indeed, admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front, and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank ran a small stream clothed with willows and brushwood. Toward the left flank this beach of land widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank terminated in an abrupt point."

The camp of the sixth of November was arranged by the governor in the form of an irregular parallelogram, caused by the formation of the ground. Front, rear, and flanks were well protected, the men directed to sleep on their arms, and every precaution taken against surprise. The commander understood the foe with whom he had to deal, and placed no reliance on their professions of friendship. He ordered that in case of an attack, the outer line should hold its position until relieved; the cavalry to act as a reserve. A guard consisting of one hundred and twenty men, was disposed about the camp, while all not on duty sought repose. Night passed in quietness, and at four o'clock in the morning Governor Harrison arose. As he was arranging his dress a single gun was fired by a sentry on the picket line, who had discovered the stealthy foe cautiously approaching the camp. Horrid yells from hundreds of savage throats pierced the early morning air, while a shower of bullets flew among the sleeping soldiers. A fierce onslaught followed, directed against the north-east angle of the camp, and several warriors penetrated the lines, never to return. Like veterans of a hundred battles the militia coolly met and repulsed the assault. The governor mounted his horse and ceaselessly directed the movements of the troops. The camp fires had been extinguished on the first alarm, as they served to guide the aim of the savages, and the only light was that given by the waning moon, which had just risen in the east. The night had developed a drizzling rain, and the morning was misty and lowering. Little could be done beside preventing an advance of the enemy, until daylight should reveal their position. Early in the action Major Jo Daviess had fallen, mortally wounded, in an attempt to dislodge a body of Indians. When daylight came, a charge was ordered, and the Indians were driven from the field. An advance was then made upon the Prophet's town, which was found deserted; provisions and cooking utensils were captured, as well as large quantities of stores, which, with the wigwams, were burned and otherwise destroyed.

The American loss in the battle of Tippecanoe amounted to one hundred and eight killed and wounded. During the fight the Prophet remained on an eminence at some distance, where he was engaged in incantations and juggling ceremonies. The result of the defeat was the decadence of his influence, and the temporary frustration of the deep-laid plans of Tecumseh. The Prophet, deserted by his followers, sought refuge with a small band of Wyandots. Soon he departed to the northwest, and among remote tribes recruited some ten thousand warriors to the cause of Tecumseh, who became an adherent of the British. His absence from the field of Tippecanoe is explained by his journey to the south, where he still remained.

In his message to Congress of December 18, 1811, in mentioning the battle of Tippecanoe and its effect upon the Indian tribes in Indiana Territory, President Madison thus complimented Governor Harrison and the troops under his command:

"While it is to be lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the ninth ultimo, Congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valor and discipline."

In addition to the commendation of the President, the legislatures of Kentucky and Indiana also formulated resolutions of thanks to Governor Harrison for the eminent services rendered the country in dispersing the menacing savages. The former passed the following resolution:

"That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor Harrison has, in the opinion of this legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot and a general; and that, for his cool, deliberate, skillful and gallant conduct in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the Nation."

A. R. WILDMAN,

## AMONG THE OTCHIPWEES.

## III.

The Northern tribes have nothing deserving the name of historical records. Their hieroglyphics or pictorial writings on trees, bark, rocks and sheltered banks of clay relate to personal or transient events. Such representations by symbols are very numerous but do not attain to a system.

Their history prior to their contact with the white man has been transmitted verbally from generation to generation with more accuracy than a civilized people would do. Story-telling constitutes their literature. In their lodges they are anything but a silent people. When their villages are approached unawares, the noise of voices is much the same as in the camps of parties on pic-nic excursions. As a voyageur the pure blood is seldom a success, and one of the objections to him is a disposition to set around the camp-fire and relate his tales of war or of the hunt, late into the night. This he does with great spirit, "suited the action to the word" with a varied intonation and with excellent powers of description. Such tales have come down orally from old to young many generations, but are more mystical than historical. The faculty is cultivated in the wigwam during long winter nights, where the same story is repeated by the patriarchs to impress it on the memory of the coming generation. With the wild man memory is sharp, and therefore tradition has in some cases a semblance to history. In substance, however, their stories lack dates, the subjects are frivolous or merely romantic, and the narrator is generally given to embellishment. He sees spirits everywhere, the reality of which is accepted by the child, who listens with wonder to a well-told tale, in which he not only believes, but is preparing to be a professional story-teller himself.

Indian picture-writings and inscriptions, in their hieroglyphics, are seen everywhere on trees, rocks and pieces of bark, blankets and flat pieces of wood. About three miles above Odanah, on Bad River, is a vertical bank of clay, shielded from storms by a dense group of evergreens. On this smooth surface are the records of many generations, over and across each



other, regardless of the rights of previous parties. Like most of their writings, they relate to trifling events of the present, such as the route which is being traveled; the game killed; or the results of a fight. To each message the totem or dodem of the writer is attached, by which he is at once recognized. But there are records of some consequence, though not strictly historical.

Before a young man can be considered a warrior, he must undergo an ordeal of exposure and starvation. He retires to a mountain, a swamp, or a rock, and there remains day and night without food, fire or blankets, as long as his constitution is able to endure the exposure. Three or four days is not unusual, but a strong Indian, destined to be a great warrior, should fast at least a week. One of the figures on this clay bank is a tree with nine branches and a hand pointing upward. This represents the vision of an Indian known to one of my voyagers, which he saw during his seclusion. He had fasted *nine days*, which naturally gave him an insight of the future, and constituted his motto, or chart of life. In tract No. 41 (1877), of the Western Reserve Historical Society, I have represented some of the effigies in this group; and also the personal history of Kundickan, a Chippewa, whom I saw in 1845, at Ontonagon. This record was made by himself with a knife, on a flat piece of wood, and is in the form of an autobiography. In hundreds of places in the United States such inscriptions are seen, of the meaning of which very little is known. Schoolcraft reproduced several of them from widely separated localities, such as the Dighton Boulder, Rhode Island; a rock on Kelley's Island, Lake Erie, and from pieces of birch bark, conveying messages or memoranda to aid an orator in his speeches.

The "Indian rock" in the Susquehanna River, near Columbia, Pennsylvania; the God Rock, on the Allegheny, near Brady's Bend; inscriptions on the Ohio River Rocks, near Wellsville, Ohio, and near the mouth of the Guyandotte, have a common style, but the particular characters are not the same. Three miles west of Barnsville, in Belmont County, Ohio, is a remarkable group of sculptured figures, principally of human feet of various dimensions and uncouth proportions. Sitting Bull gave a history of his exploits on sheets of paper, which he explained to Dr. Kimball, a surgeon in the army, published in facsimile in *Harper's Weekly*, July, 1876. Such hieroglyphics have been found on rocky faces in Arizona, and on boulders in Georgia.

While pandemonium was let loose at La Pointe towards the close of the

payment we made a bivouac on the beach, between the dock and the mission house. The *voyageurs* were all at the great finale which constitutes the paradise of a Chippewa. One of my local assistants was playing the part of a detective on the watch for whisky dealers. We had seen one of them on the head waters of Brunscilus River, who came through the woods up the Chippewa River. Beyond the village of La Pointe, on a sandy promontory called Pointe au Froid, abbreviated to Pointe au Fret or Cold Point, were about twenty-five lodges, and probably one hundred and fifty Indians excited by liquor. For this, diluted with more than half water, they paid a dollar for each pint, and the measure was none too large—neither pressed down nor running over. Their savage yells rose on the quiet moon-lit atmosphere like a thousand demons. A very little weak whisky is sufficient to work wonders in the stomach of a backwoods Indian, to whom it is a comparative stranger. About midnight the detective perceived our traveler from the Chippewa River quietly approaching the dock, to which he tied his canoe and went among the lodges. To the stern there were several kegs of fire-water attached, but weighted down below the surface of the water. It required but a few minutes to haul them in and stave in the heads of all of them. Before morning there appeared to be more than a thousand savage throats giving full play to their powerful lungs. Two of them were staggering along the beach toward where I lay, with one man by my side. He said we had better be quiet, which, undoubtedly, was good advice. They were nearly naked, locked arm in arm, their long hair spread out in every direction, and as they swayed to and fro between the water line and the bushes, no imagination could paint a more complete representation of the demon. There was a yell to every step—apparently a bacchanalian song. They were within two yards before they saw us, and by one leap cleared everything, as though they were as much surprised as we were. The song, or howl, did not cease. It was kept up until they turned away from the beach into the mission road, and went on howling over the hill toward the old fort. It required three days for half-breed and full-blood alike to recover from the general debauch sufficiently to resume the oar and pack. As we were about to return to the Penoka Mountains, a Chippewa buck, with a new calico shirt and a clean blanket, wished to know if the Chemokoman would take him to the south shore. He would work a paddle or an oar. Before reaching the head of the Chegoimegon Bay there was a storm of rain. He pulled off

his shirt, folded it and sat down upon it, to keep it dry. The falling rain on his bare back he did not notice.

We had made the grand portage of nine miles from the foot of the cataract of the St. Louis, above Fond du Lac, and encamped on the river where the trail came to it below the knife portage. In the evening Stephen Bungo, a brother of Charles Bungo, the half-breed negro and Chippewa, came into our tent. He said he had a message from Naugaunup, second chief of the Fond du Lac band, whose home was at Ash-ke-bwau-ka, on the river above. His chief wished to know by what authority we came through that country without consulting him. After much diplomatic parley Stephen was given some pequashigon and went to his bivouac.

The next morning he intimated that we must call at Naugaunup's lodge on the way up, where probably permission might be had, by paying a reasonable sum, to proceed. We found him in a neat wigwam with two wives, on a pleasant rise of the river bluff, clear of timber, where there had been a village of the above name. His countenance was a pleasant one, very closely resembling that of Governor Corwin, of Ohio, but his features were smaller and also his stature. Dr. Norwood informed him that we had orders from the Great Father to go up the St. Louis to its source, thence to the waters running the other way to the Canada line. Nothing but force would prevent us from doing this, and if he was displeased he should make a complaint to the Indian agent at La Pointe, and he would forward it to Washington. We heard no more of the invasion of his territory, and he proceeded to do what very few Chippewas will do, offered to show us valuable minerals. In the stream was a pinnacle of black slate, about sixty feet high. Naugaunup soon appeared from behind it, near the top, in a position that appeared to be inaccessible, a very picturesque object pointing triumphantly to some veins of white quartz, which are very common in metamorphic slate.

Those who have heard him, say that he was a fine orator, having influence over his band, a respectable Indian, and a good negotiator. If he imagined there was value in those seams of quartz it is quite remarkable and contrary to universal practice among Chippewas that he should show them to white men. They claim that all minerals belong to the tribe. An Indian who received a price for showing them, and did not give every one his share, would be in danger of his life. They had also a superstitious dread of some great evil if they disclosed anything of the kind. Some times they promise to do so, but when they arrive at the spot, with some

verdant white man, expecting to become suddenly rich, the Great Spirit or the Bad Manitou has carried it away. I have known more than one such instance, where persons have been sustained by hopeful expectation after many days of weary travel into the depths of the forest. The editor of the *Ontonagon Miner* gives one of the instances in his experience:

"Many years ago when Ivon River was one of the fur stations, of John Jacob Astor and the American Fur Company, the Indians were known to have silver in its native state in considerable quantities."

Men are now living who have seen them with chunks of the size of a man's fist, but no one ever succeeded in inducing them to tell or show where the hidden treasure lay. A mortal dread clung to them, that if they showed white men a deposit of mineral the Great Manitou would punish them with death.

Several years since a half-breed brought in very fine specimens of vein rock, carrying considerable quantities of native silver. His report was that his wife had found it on the South Range, where they were trapping. To test his story he was sent back for more. In a few days he returned bringing with him quite a chunk from which was obtained eleven and one-half ounces of native silver. He returned home, went among the Flambeaux Indians and was killed. His wife refused to listen to any proposals or temptation from friend or foe to show the location of this vein, clinging with religious tenacity to the superstitious fears of her tribe.

When the British had a fort on St. Joseph's Island in the St. Mary's River, in the War of 1812, an Indian brought in a rich piece of copper pyrites. The usual mode of getting on good terms with him, by means of whisky, failed to get from him the location of the mineral. Goods were offered him; first a bundle, then a pile, afterwards a canoe-load, and finally enough to load a Mackinaw boat. No promise to disclose the place, no description or hint could be extorted. It was probably a specimen from the veins on the Bruce or Wellington mining property, only about twenty miles distant on the Canadian shore.

Crossing over the portage from St. Louis River to Vermillion River, one of the *voyageurs* heard the report of a distant shot. They had expected to meet Bear's Grease, with his large family, and fired a gun as a signal to them. The ashes of their fire were still warm. After much shouting and firing, it was evident that we should have no Indian society at that time. That evening, around an ample camp fire, we heard the history of the old patriarch. His former wives had borne him twenty-

four children; more boys than girls. Our half-breed guide had often been importuned to take one of the girls. The old father recommended her as a good worker, and if she did not work he must whip her. Even a moderate beating always brought her to a sense of her duties. All he expected was a blanket and a gun as an offset. He would give a great feast on the occasion of the nuptials. Over the summit to Vermillion, through Vermillion Lake, passing down the outlet among many cataracts to the Crane Lake portage, there were encamped a few families, most of them too drunk to stand alone. There were two traders, from the Canada side, with plenty of rum. We wanted a guide through the intricacies of Rainy Lake. A very good-looking savage presented himself with a very unsteady gait, his countenance expressing the maudlin good nature of Tam O'Shanter as he mounted Meg. Withal, he appeared to be honest. "Yes, I know that way, but, you see, I'm drunk; can't you wait till to-morrow." A young squaw who apparently had not imbibed fire-water, had succeeded in acquiring a pewter ring. Her dress was a blanket of rabbit skins, made of strips woven like a rag carpet. It was bound around her waist with a girdle of deer's hide, answering the purpose of stroud and blanket. No city belle could exhibit a ring of diamonds more conspicuously and with more self-satisfaction than this young squaw did her ring of pewter.

As we were all silently sitting in the canoes, dripping with rain, a sudden halloo announced the approach of living men. It was no other than Wau-nun-nee, the chief of the Grand Fourche bands, who was hunting for ducks among the rice. More delicious morsels never gladdened the palate than these plump, fat, rice-fed ducks. Old Wau-nun-nee is a gentleman among Indian chiefs. His band had never consented to sell their land, and consequently had no annuities. He even refused to receive a present from the Government as one of the head men of the tribe, preferring to remain wholly independent. We soon came to his village on Ash-ab-ash-kaw Lake. No band of Indians in our travels appeared as comfortable or behaved as well as this. Their country is well supplied with rice and tolerably good hunting ground. The American fur dealers (I mean the licensed ones) do not sell liquor to the Indians, and use their influence to aid Government in keeping it from them. Wau-nun-nee's baliwick was seldom disturbed by drunken brawls. His Indians had more pleasant countenances than any we had seen, with less of the wild and haggard look than the annuity Indians. It was seldom they left their



grounds, for they seldom suffered from hunger. They were comfortably clothed, made no importunities for kokoosh or pequashigon, and in gratifying their savage curiosity about our equipments they were respectful and pleasant. In his lodge the chief had teacups and saucers, with tea and sugar for his white guests, which he pressed us to enjoy. But we had no time for ceremonials, and had tea and sugar of our own. Our men recognized numerous acquaintances among the women, and as we encamped near a second village at Round Lake they came to make a draft on our provision chest. We here laid in a supply of wild rice in exchange for flour. Among this band we saw bows and arrows used to kill game. They have so little trade with the whites, and are so remote from the depots of Indian goods, that powder and lead are scarce, and guns also. For ducks and geese the bow and arrow is about as effectual as powder and shot. In truth, the community of which Wau-nun-nee was the patriarch came nearer to the pictures of Indians which poets are fond of drawing than any we saw. The squaws were more neatly clad, and their hair more often combed and braided and tied with a piece of ribbon or of red flannel, with which their papposes delighted to sport. There were among them fewer of those disgusting smoke-dried, sore-eyed creatures who present themselves at other villages.

By my estimate the channel, as we followed it to the head of the Round Laké branch, is two hundred and two miles in length, and the rise of the stream one hundred and eight feet. The portage to a stream leading into the Mississippi is one mile.

At Round Lake we engaged two young Indians to help over the portage in Jack's place. Both of them were decided dandies, and one, who did not overtake us till late the next morning, gave as an excuse that he had spent the night in courting an Indian damsel. This business is managed with them a little differently than with us. They deal largely in charms, which the medicine men furnish. This fellow had some pieces of mica, which he pulverized, and was managing to cause his inamorata to swallow. If this was effected his cause was sure to succeed. He had also some ochery, iron ore and an herb to mix with the mica. Another charm, and one very effectual, is composed of a hair from the damsel's head placed between two wooden images. Our Lothario had prepared himself externally so as to produce a most killing effect. His hair was adorned with broad yellow ribbons, and also soaked in grease. On his cheeks were some broad jet black stripes that pointed, on both sides, toward his

mouth; in his ears and nose, some beads four inches long. For a pouch and medicine bag he had the skin of a swan suspended from his girdle by the neck. His blanket was clean, and his leggings wrought with great care, so that he exhibited a most striking collection of colors.

At Round Lake we overtook the Cass Lake band on their return from the rice lakes. This meeting produced a great clatter of tongues between our men and the squaws, who came waddling down a slippery bank where they were encamped. There was a marked difference between these people and those at Ash-ab-ash-kaw. They were more ragged, more greasy, and more intrusive.

CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

## EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

THE March and April numbers of this Magazine will contain a very important and able paper by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Robertson, of St. Louis, Mo., on the various attempts which have been made to separate the West from the Union. The Bishop brings out with much distinctness General Wilkinson's dishonorable and traitorous connection with the Spanish intrigues, and with the Burr-Blennerhasset attempt to sever the country west of the Alleghanies from the Union, conquer Mexico and found a Southwestern Republic with New Orleans as its capital and Burr its president. Much new light is thrown upon these interesting phases of western history by this learned and scholarly writer.

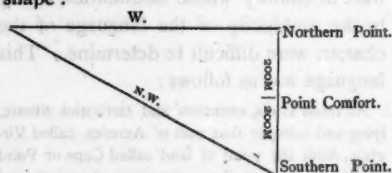
IMMIGRATION to Ohio at an early day at times met with the greatest discouragement from those who had but little faith in the glowing promises and inducements of the Ohio Land Company. Caricature was employed to give vent to the derision which was felt. Judge Timothy Walker, in an address delivered before the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, at Cincinnati, in 1837, said he well remembered in his boyhood of seeing two pictures—one representing a stout, well-dressed, ruddy man on a fat, sleek horse, westward bound, bearing a banner with the words "Going to Ohio;" the other showing a pale and ghostly skeleton of a man, in shabby apparel, riding the wreck of a horse, journeying eastward, bearing the ensign "Have Been to Ohio."

JAMES I. granted to Virginia in 1609 a tract of country whose boundaries, owing to the ambiguity of the language of the charter, were difficult to determine. This language was as follows:

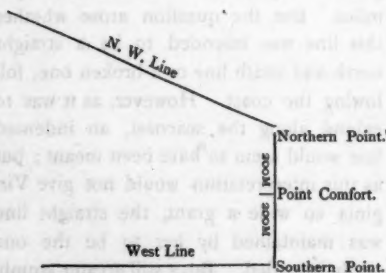
All those lands, countries and territories situate, lying and being in that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the seacoast to the northward two hundred miles, and from the said Point or Cape Comfort, all along the seacoast to the southward two hundred miles; and all that space and circuit of land lying from the seacoast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest; and also all the islands lying within one hundred miles along the coast of both seas of the precinct aforesaid.

The language makes the place of beginning Old Point Comfort, near the mouth of the James River, from which a line was to extend 200 miles north and 200 miles south, making the width of the grant along the Atlantic seaboard 400 miles. But the question arose whether this line was intended to be a straight north and south line or a broken one, following the coast. However, as it was to extend along the seacoast, an indented line would seem to have been meant; but as this interpretation would not give Virginia so wide a grant, the straight line was maintained by her to be the one really intended. But a still greater stumbling block was reached when an attempt

was made to interpret the words "up into the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest." The width on the sea-coast was plainly intended to be 400 miles, and there was to be a western and a north-western line. If the latter line should start from the southern point, and extend northwest until it should intersect the west line drawn due west from the northern point, the grant would take this shape :\*



and Virginia would have a triangular tract containing a somewhat larger area than is comprised within the present limits of that State. On the other hand, if the west line began at the southern point, and the northwestern at the northern point, then Virginia would have a vast extent of land embracing the entire northwest, and including all western territory claimed by right of royal charter by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New York. See diagram :



As the grant was to extend from "sea to sea," and could not do so unless the lines were run as indicated in the second diagram, the latter interpretation was generally conceded to be the correct one.

THE ambiguity of this language was chiefly due to the gross ignorance that prevailed in England at the time these grants were made, as to the inland extent of the American Continent. During the reign of James I, Sir Francis Drake reported that, standing on the top of a mountain on the Isthmus of Panama, he had seen both oceans. It was the prevailing belief that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans—the latter being then known by the name of "The South Sea," were only a few miles, forty or fifty perhaps, from each other ; and, as late as 1740, letters intended for America were addressed in England to the "Island of New England."

THE grant of Massachusetts was obtained in 1620 by the Plymouth Company, the Earl of Warwick, president, from the same monarch, James I, who seems to have attached very little value to western territory. It lay between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of latitude, and was second in extent to that of Virginia. It contained over a million square miles, and embraced the best part of Quebec and Ontario, all of what is now New England and New York, one half of New Jersey, nearly all of Pennsylvania, and by far the larger part of what came to be designated the Northwest Territory.

\*For the suggestion of the use of the diagrams, the writer is indebted to Mr. Adams' admirable paper in the January number of the John Hopkins University Studies, elsewhere referred to.

In 1630 the Plymouth Company conveyed to its President, the Earl of Warwick, Connecticut, and he in turn, March 19, 1632, conveyed the same (by Connecticut was meant a tract of land 120 miles in width, and extending from ocean to ocean) to Lord Say and Seal and others. The following is the deed of cession:

DEED OF ROBERT, EARL OF WARWICK—MARCH 19, 1632.

To all people unto whom this present writing shall come, Robert, Earl of Warwick, sendeth greeting, in our Lord God everlasting:

KNOW YE—That the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, for divers good causes and considerations him thereunto moving, hath given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeofed, aliened and confirmed, and by these presents doth give, grant, bargain, sell, enfeof, alien and confirm unto Right Honorable William, Viscount Say and Seal, the Right Honorable Robert, Lord Brook, the Right Honorable Lord Rich, and the Honorable Charles Fienner, Esq., Sir Nathaniel Rich, Knt., Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, Esq., John Pym, Esq., John Hampden, Esq., John Humphrey, Herbert Pellam, their heirs and assigns and their associates forever, all that part of New England in America which lies and extends itself from a river there called Narragansett river, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line near the sea shore towards the southwest, west and by south, or as the coast lieth towards Virginia accounting three English miles to the league, and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying and being within the lands aforesaid north and south in latitude and breadth and length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there from the Western Ocean to the South Sea, and all lands and grounds, place and places, soil and woods, grounds, havens, ports, creeks and rivers, waters, fishings and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the said space, and every part and parcel thereof.

And also all islands lying in America aforesaid in the said seas, or either of them, on the western or eastern coasts or parts of the said tracts of land by these presents mentioned, to be given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeofed, aliened and confirmed, also all mines and minerals, as well royal mines of gold and silver, as other mines and minerals whatsoever in the said lands and premises or any part thereof,

and also the several rivers within the said limits by what name or names soever called or known, and all jurisdiction, rights, royalties, liberties, freedoms, immunities, powers, privileges, franchises, pre-eminences and commodities whatsoever which the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, now hath or had, or might use, exercise or enjoy, in or within any part or parcel thereof, excepting and reserving to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the fifth part of all gold and silver ore that shall be found within the said premises or any part or parcel thereof. To have and to hold the said part of New England in America which lies and extends and is abutted as aforesaid; and the said several rivers and every part and parcel thereof, and all the said islands, rivers, ports, havens, waters, fishings, mines, minerals, jurisdictions, powers, franchises, royalties, liberties, privileges, commodities, hereditaments and premises whatsoever, with the appurtenances unto the said William, Viscount Say and Seal, Robert, Lord Brook, Robert, Lord Rich, Charles Fienner, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphrey and Herbert Pellam, their heirs and assigns and their associates forevermore. In witness whereof the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, hath set his hand and seal this nineteenth day of March, in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign, Lord Charles, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Anno Domini 1632.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of  
WALTER WILLIAMS, } ROBERT WARWICK.  
THOMAS HAWSON, } [A SEAL.]

In 1662, Connecticut, through the influence and efforts of its agent, the younger Winthrop, obtained a confirmation of its charter from Charles II, the grant being of the same extent from east to west—from Narragansett Bay to the Pacific Ocean,—but being sixty-two miles in width instead of 120.

All the States during the Revolutionary war, or at its close, surrendered to the general government their claims to western lands, Connecticut doing so the most reluctantly and tardily. However, on the fourteenth day of September, 1786,



the surrender was made ; but made with a *proviso*. She reserved a tract of land lying within the north and south boundaries of her grant, and extending west from the western boundary of Pennsylvania, 120 miles. This tract—120 miles long and 62 miles wide—was not conveyed to the government but *reserved* by Connecticut. Hence the name, *Connecticut Western Reserve*.

A HISTORY of the various grants made to the colonies by English monarchs would be interesting reading. Colonel Whittlesey has made a valuable summary of most of them in tract No. 32 of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, but unaccompanied with explanations. The conflicting claims to western territory growing out of these grants, and the manner in which they were finally sacrificed on the altar of national unity and good will, form a most interesting, as well as one of the most important chapters in American history. A very excellent paper on this subject, though written from a partizan standpoint, is published in the January issue of the John Hopkins' University Studies. It is from the pen of Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., and is entitled, "Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions to the United States." We bespeak for it a wide circulation and an attentive reading. Maryland's influence on the wise legislation which finally triumphed over so great opposition is shown to have been very potent. The paper, however, contains some slight inaccuracies. One statement in regard to the Western Reserve is particularly unfortunate. The writer says, p. 39 :

Massachusetts ceded her western lands, together with jurisdiction over the same, April 19, 1785, and Connecticut followed September 14, 1786, reserving however, certain lands south of Lake Erie, for educational and other purposes. This was the so-called "Connecticut Reserve," a tract nearly as large as the present State of Connecticut. Washington strongly condemned this compromise, and Mr. Grayson said it was a clear loss to the United States of about six million acres already ceded by Virginia and New York. Connecticut granted five thousand acres of this Reserve to certain of her citizens, whose property had been burned or destroyed during the Revolution, and the lands thus granted were known as the Fire Lands. The remainder of the Reserve was sold in 1795 for \$1,200,000, which sum has been used for schools and colleges. Jurisdiction over this tract was finally ceded to Congress May 30, 1800, and thus at the close of the century, the accession of the Northwest Territory was complete.

The amount of land which the State of Connecticut granted to her suffering people who had sustained losses by fire during the Revolution, aggregating \$538,495.26, was not as above stated five thousand, but five hundred thousand, acres. This grant was taken from the western end of the Reserve, and was called the Sufferers' or Fire Lands as stated. The tract embraces the present counties of Huron and Erie, the township of Ruggles in Ashland County, and Danbury in Ottawa County. The entire remainder of the Reserve was not sold in 1795 for \$1,200,000 as Mr. Adams states. "The Salt Spring Tract," covering 25,450 acres had been sold to General Samuel H. Parsons, of Middletown, Connecticut, in 1788. The remainder of the Reserve, comprising 2,841,471 acres, was sold in 1795 for \$1,200,000, to the Connecticut Land Company. The quantity of land in the Connecticut Western Reserve, as ascertained by actual survey, is as follows :

Land east of the Cuyahoga, exclusive of the Parson's Tract, in acres.....	2,002,970
Land west of the Cuyahoga, exclusive of Surplus land, islands and Sufferers' Lands.....	827,291
Surplus land, so-called.....	5,286
{ Cunningham or Kelley's.....	2,749
{ Bass or Bay No. 1.....	1,322
Islands, { " " " 2.....	709
{ " " " 3.....	709
{ " " " 4.....	403
{ " " " 5.....	32
	5,924
Parson's or Salt Spring Tract.....	25,450
Sufferers' or Fire Lands.....	500,000

Total land area in acres of the C. W. R. . . . . 3,366,921  
 If the entire Reserve were land area there would be 4,761,600 acres, or 7,440 sq. miles.

REV. A. A. LAMBING, of Pittsburgh, Pa., gives many interesting facts in the early history of that city in the January number of his excellent quarterly, entitled "Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania, mostly Catholic." From the article referred to we gather a few of the chief points of interest, as follows:

The first description of the site of Pittsburgh was given by Washington in 1753, who writes in his journal, under date of November 24, as follows:

I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land at the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water, and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles, Allegheny bearing northeast and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water; the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

Captain William Trent made the first attempt at a permanent settlement, arriving at the Forks, February 17, 1754. He was sent there by Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, with a force of

about seventy-five men to erect a fort. In April of the same year the French arrived and took possession of the place. The first white child born on the site of Pittsburgh was John Daniel Norment, born September 19, 1755. The first death was that of Toussaint Boyer, surnamed Bien-tourné, June 20, 1754. The French built a fort and called it Duquesne. November 25, 1758, the English regained possession. It was too late in the season to erect a suitable fortification, but they built a small stockade on the banks of the Monongahela and called it Fort Pitt. The next year they erected a large fort at the point, at a cost of £60,000, and gave it the same name. Bancroft says:

There, as the banners of England floated over the waters, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was with one voice called Pittsburgh. It is the most enduring monument to William Pitt. Americans raised to his name statues that have been wrongfully broken, and granite piles of which not one stone remains upon another, but long as the Monongahela and Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the gateway of the west.

The first use of the name of Pittsburgh was in a letter from George Cochran to Governor Denny dated "Pittsburgh, July 15, 1759."

Judge Breckenridge, in 1781, gave an interesting and well written description of the place, extracts from which we make as follows:

At the head of the Ohio stands the town of Pittsburgh, on an angular piece of ground, the two rivers form the two sides of the angle. Just at the point stood, when I first came to this country, a tree, leaning against which I have often overlooked the wave, or committing my garments to its shade have bathed in its transparent tide. How I have regretted

its undeserved fate when the early winter's flood tore it from the roots and left the bank bare! On this point stood the old French fort, known by the name of Fort Duquesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under General Forbes. The appearance of the ditch and mound, with the salient angles and bastions still remains, so as to prevent that perfect level of the ground which otherwise would exist. It has been long overgrown with the finest verdure, and pastured on by cattle; but since the town has been laid out it has been enclosed, and buildings are erected.

Just above these works is the present garrison, built by General Stanwix, and is said to have cost the crown of Britain £60,000. Be that as it may, it has been a work of great labor and of little use, for, situated on a plain, it is commanded by heights and rising grounds on every side, and some at less than the distance of a mile. The fortification is regular, constructed according to the rules of art, and about three years ago put into good repair by General Irwin, who commanded at this post. It had the advantage of an excellent magazine, built of stone, but the time is come, and it is hoped will not again return, when the use of this garrison is at an end.

The bank of the Allegheny river, on the north-west side of the town of Pittsburgh, is planted with an orchard of apple trees, with some pear trees intermixed. These were brought, it is said, and planted by a British officer, who commanded at this place early on the first occupation of it by the crown of England. He has deserved the thanks of those who have since enjoyed it, as the fruit is excellent, and the trees bear an abundance every year.

On the margin of this river once stood a row of houses, elegant and neat, and not unworthy of the European taste, but they have been swept away in the course of time, some for the purpose of forming an opening to the river from the garrison, that the artillery might incommode the enemy approaching, and deprived of shelter; some torn away by the fury of the rising river, indignant of too near a pressure on its banks. These buildings were the receptacles of the ancient Indian trade, which, coming from the westward, centred in this quarter; but of these buildings, like decayed monuments of grandeur, no trace remains. Those who twenty years ago saw them flourish, can only say, "here they stood."

On the west side of the Allegheny River, and opposite the orchard, is a level of three thousand acres, reserved by the State to be laid out in lots for the purpose of a town. A small stream at right angles

to the river passes through it. On this ground it is supposed a town may stand, but on all hands it is excluded from the praise of being a situation so convenient as on the side of the river where the present town is placed, yet it is a most delightful grove of oak, cherry and walnut trees. But we return and take a view of the Monongahela, on the south side of the town.

The bank is closely set with buildings for the distance of near half a mile, and behind this range the town chiefly lies, falling back on the plains between the two rivers. To the eastward is Grant's hill, a beautiful rising ground, discovering marks of ancient cultivation, the forest having long ago withdrawn and shown the head and brow beset with green and flowers. From this hill two crystal fountains issue, which in the heat of summer continue with a limpid current to refresh the taste. It is pleasant to celebrate a festival on the summit of this ground.

In the year 1781, a bower had been erected, covered with green shrubs. The sons and daughters of the day assembling, joined in the festivity, viewing the rivers at a distance, and listening to the music of the military on the plain beneath them. When the moonlight, rising from the east, had softened into gray, the prospect, a lofty pile of wood enflamed, with pyramidal rising, illuminated both rivers and the town, which far around reflected brightness. Approaching in the appearance of a river god, a swain begirt with weeds natural to these streams, and crowned with leaves of the sugar tree, hailed us, and gave prophetic hints of the grandeur of our future empire. His words I remember not, but it seems to me for a moment, that the mystic agency of deities well known in Greece and Rome, was not a fable; but that powers unseen haunt the woods and rivers, who take part in the affairs of mortals, and are pleased with the celebration of events that spring from great achievements and from virtue.

This is the hill, and from whence it takes its name, where, in the war which terminated in 1763, Grant advancing with about 800 Caledonians or Highland-Scotch troops, beat a reveille a little after sunrise to the French garrison, who, accompanied with a number of savages, sallied out and flanked him unseen from the bottom on the left and right then covered with woods, ascended the hill, tomahawked and cut his troops to pieces, and made Grant himself a prisoner. Bones and weapons are yet found on the hill, the bones white with the weather, the weapons covered with rust.

The town of Pittsburgh, as at present built, stands

chiefly on what is called the third bank; that is the third rising of the ground above the Allegheny water. First there is the first bank, which confines the river at the present time; and about three hundred feet removed is a second like the falling of a garden; then a third, at the distance of about three hundred yards; and lastly, a fourth bank, all of easy inclination, and parallel with the Allegheny river. These banks would seem in successive periods to have been the margin of the river, which gradually has changed its course, and has been thrown from one descent to another, to the present bed where it lies. . . . Nature, therefore, or the river, seems to have formed the bed of this town as a garden with level walks and falling of the ground.

The town consists at present of about an hundred dwelling houses, with buildings appurtenant. More are daily added, and for some time past it has improved with an equal but continual pace. The inhabitants, children, men and women, are about fifteen hundred; this number doubling almost every year from the accessions from abroad, and from those born in the town.

THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY will contain in its March number an article on the establishment of the Ohio capital. The illustrations will consist of a portrait of Lyne Starling, one of the original proprietors; a view of the site of Columbus in 1812; a view of the old State House; old penitentiary, and a few other rare illustrations. Any citizen who can contribute materials and pictures of Columbus prior to 1834, will confer a favor on the publishers if he will leave word at Mr. Smythe's bookstore where they can be had, and a representative of the Magazine will call for them.

THE North American Review for February has an interesting discussion between Dr. H. J. Van Dyke and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher on the question "Shall Clergymen be Politicians?" To this question Dr. Van Dyke emphatically says "no," while Mr Beecher says both "no" and "yes," and leaves the reader at the close of his argument very

much in doubt as to the number of clergymen he deems fit to be politicians. No doubt he wishes his brethren in the ministry to think he deems them eligible to the life political, but he exacts that they shall possess so many qualifications that we fear, Mr. Beecher being their judge, the vast majority must be excluded. First, he will not permit clergymen who are Roman Catholics or Protestant Episcopal churchmen to have anything to do with politics, because they are a peculiar class of the clergy set apart from common men, forming indeed "a sort of spiritual nobility," and in matters of religion are to men the voice of God. It will not do for them to step down and mingle with that class of "common men" who are politicians. However, other clergymen who renounce the sacramental theory, and are simply men among men, guides to morality and instructors of the young, these may take part in politics *provided* that—*first*, they have common sense; *second*, know enough to discriminate "between the aims of political action and the instruments by which those aims are to be accomplished"; and, *third*, have the ordinary "prudence that guides men in selection of time and place and other circumstance." Mr. Beecher should use his influence to have the Government take this matter in hand and have a board of examiners, of which he shall be the head, to pass upon the qualifications of clerical candidates for admission to the "field of politics." However, in such an event, we fear if the board should be at all strict in its examinations, the third requirement in the proviso would exclude Mr. Beecher himself.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

*To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.*

SIR: I submit the following answers to the questions propounded in your January issue:

1. Who has been called the father of history? Answer. Governor Bradford has been called the father of American history.

2. What was Washington's first military engagement? Did he meet with success or defeat? Answer. In 1754 Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent Washington in command of a body of men to finish and protect a fort already begun by the English at the junction of the two rivers forming the Ohio. The French seized this fort and gave it the name of Duquesne. He at first defeated a party of the French, but was again attacked by a combined force of the French and Indians, and forced to relinquish the entire "Ohio basin."

3. When and where was the first fort built on the Ohio? Answer. In about 1753 at the forks of the Ohio.

4. Where were situated the following forts: Fort Duquesne, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh and Fort Necessity? Answer. Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Fort Pitt, the name given to Fort Duquesne by the English.

5. When did Ohio become a State? Answer. In 1803.

6. Who first settled on the soil of the Northwest Territory—the English or French? Answer. The French.

M. A. McPEAK.

*To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:*

SIR: In answer to the enquiry as to the date of Ohio's birth, I have this to say:

The convention which formed the Constitution of Ohio assembled November 1, 1802, in Chillicothe, and continued in session until the 29th. On that day the Constitution adopted by them was engrossed and signed. It was presented to Congress during the next winter, which body accepted it and on March 3, 1803, passed an act admitting Ohio to the Union.

The whole question hinges on this one point. If a constitutional convention creates a State, then November 29, 1802, is Ohio's birthday. If it requires an act of Congress (which is generally accepted as the fact), then March 3, 1803, is the day.

A. A. GRAHAM.

Columbus, Ohio, January, 1885.

## INFORMATION SOUGHT.

*To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:*

SIR: On page 511, in Vol. 2, of the 'St. Clair Papers,' it is stated that the Rev. William Spear, of Chillicothe, was



elected chaplain of both branches of the January issue, in my article on "Starved first Territorial Legislature, which met at Rock," that Pontiac's death occurred in its second session in Chillicothe, November 1760. It should be 1769. There is a little uncertainty as to whether it was in ber 5, 1860.

Of what denomination was he, and what 1768 or 1769; but the weight of testimony was his subsequent history? S. seems to favor the latter date.

Also in the same article the name of John Dean Caton, is made by the types John Dean Catur.

SIR: The types make me say, in your

A. A. GRAHAM.

### HISTORICAL AND PIONEER SOCIETIES.

The following list of Historical Societies in the United States and Canada has been obtained by us from General Charles W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y., for the convenience of other societies and our readers:

STATE.	NAME.	CITY.
Alabama.....	Alabama Historical Society.....	Tuscaloosa
Arkansas.....	Arkansas Historical Society.....	Little Rock
California.....	Society of California Pioneers.....	San Francisco
California.....	Territorial Pioneers of California.....	San Francisco
Colorado.....	State Historical Society.....	Denver
Connecticut.....	New Haven Colony Historical Society.....	New Haven
Connecticut.....	American Oriental Society.....	New Haven
Connecticut.....	Connecticut Historical Society.....	Hartford
Connecticut.....	New London County Historical Society.....	New London
Delaware.....	Delaware Historical Society.....	Wilmington
Georgia.....	Georgia Historical Society.....	Savannah
Illinois.....	Chicago Historical Society.....	Chicago
Indiana.....	Indiana Historical Society.....	Indianapolis
Iowa.....	Iowa State Historical Society.....	Iowa City
Iowa.....	Academy of Natural Science.....	Davenport
Kansas.....	Kansas State Historical Society.....	Topeka
Kentucky.....	Historical and Scientific Society.....	Maysville
Louisiana.....	Louisiana Historical Society.....	Baton Rouge
Maine.....	Maine Historical Society.....	Portland
Maine.....	Gorges Society.....	Portland
Maine.....	Maine Genealogical Society.....	Portland
Maine.....	Sagadahoc Society.....	Portland
Maine.....	Bangor Historical Society.....	Bangor
Maryland.....	Maryland Historical Society.....	Baltimore
Maryland.....	John Hopkin's University.....	Baltimore
Maryland.....	American Historical Association.....	Baltimore
Massachusetts.....	Numismatic Society.....	Boston
Massachusetts.....	Archaeological Institute of America.....	Boston
Massachusetts.....	Massachusetts Historical Society.....	Boston
Massachusetts.....	New England Historic-Genealogical Society.....	Boston
Massachusetts.....	New England Methodist Historical Society.....	Malden
Massachusetts.....	Military Historical Society.....	Boston

## HISTORICAL AND PIONEER SOCIETIES.

STATE.	NAME.	CITY.
Massachusetts	Bostonian Society	Boston
Massachusetts	Boston Memorial Association	Boston
Massachusetts	Webster Historical Society	Boston
Massachusetts	Universalist Historical Society	Boston
Massachusetts	Boston Memorial Society	Boston
Massachusetts	Essex Institute	Salem
Massachusetts	Historical and Antiquarian Society	Dorchester
Massachusetts	Dedham Historical Society	Dedham
Massachusetts	Old Residents' Historical Society	Lowell
Massachusetts	American Congregational Historical Society	Chelsea
Massachusetts	Pilgrim Historical Society	Plymouth
Massachusetts	Old Colony Historical Society	Taunton
Massachusetts	American Antiquarian Society	Worcester
Massachusetts	Antiquarian and Historical Society	Newbury port
Massachusetts	Historical Society	Deerfield
Massachusetts	Pocomtuck Valley Memorial Association	South Natick
Massachusetts	Historical Society	Deerfield
Michigan	Michigan State Pioneer Society	Lansing
Michigan	Michigan Historical Society	Detroit
Michigan	Wayne County Pioneer Society	Detroit
Michigan	Houghton County Historical Society	Houghton
Minnesota	Minnesota Historical Society	St. Paul
Mississippi	Mississippi Historical Society	Jackson
Missouri	Missouri Historical Society	St. Louis
Montana	Historical Society	Helena
New Hampshire	New Hampshire Historical Society	Concord
New Hampshire	New Hampshire Antiquarian Society	Contoocook
New Hampshire	Nashua Historical Society	Nashua
New Jersey	New Jersey Historical Society	Newark
New Jersey	Passaic County Historical Society	Paterson
New Jersey	Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society	Vineland
New Jersey	New England Society	Orange
New Jersey	New Brunswick Historical Club	New Brunswick
New Mexico	Historical Society of New Mexico	
New York	American Archaeological Council	New York
New York	New York Historical Society	New York
New York	Genealogical and Biographical Society	New York
New York	American Philological Society	New York
New York	American Numismatical and Archaeological Society	New York
New York	Linnaean Society	New York
New York	Ethnological Society	New York
New York	Huguenot Society of America	New York
New York	Albany Institute	Albany
New York	Long Island Historical Society	Brooklyn
New York	Buffalo Historical Society	Buffalo
New York	The Oneida Historical Society	Utica
New York	Cayuga County Historical Society	Auburn
New York	Genesee County Pioneer Association	Batavia
New York	Waterloo Historical Society	Waterloo
New York	Ulster County Historical Society	Kingston
New York	West Chester Historical Society	White Plains
New York	Historical and Forestry Society	Nyack
New York	Livingston County Historical Society	Mt. Morris
New York	Chautauqua Historical Society	Jamestown
New York	Historical Society of Newburgh Bay	Newburgh
New York	Onondaga Historical Society	Onondaga
Oregon	Pioneer and Historical Society	Astoria
Oregon	Oregon Pioneer Association	Butteville
Pennsylvania	Historical Society of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania	Numismatic and Antiquarian Society	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania	Franklin Institute	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania	Presbyterian Historical Society	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania	American Baptist Historical Society	Philadelphia

STATE.	NAME.	CITY.
Pennsylvania.....	International Scientific Association.....	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania.....	American Philosophical Society.....	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania.....	Friends Historical Society.....	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania.....	Library Company Historical Society.....	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania.....	German Society of Pennsylvania.....	Philadelphia
Pennsylvania.....	Bucks County Historical Society.....	Doyletown
Pennsylvania.....	Dauphin County Historical Society.....	Harrisburgh
Pennsylvania.....	Lutheran Historical Society.....	Gettysburgh
Pennsylvania.....	Linnaean Historical and Scientific Society.....	Lancaster
Pennsylvania.....	Moravian Historical Society.....	Nazareth
Pennsylvania.....	Bradford County Historical Society.....	Towanda
Pennsylvania.....	Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.....	Wilkes Barre
Pennsylvania.....	Historical Society of Franklin County.....	Chambersburg
Pennsylvania.....	Lutheran Historical Society.....	Gettysburgh
Pennsylvania.....	Historical Society.....	Newport
Pennsylvania.....	Hamilton Historical Society.....	Carlisle
Pennsylvania.....	Montgomery Historical Society.....	Norristown
Pennsylvania.....	Historical Society of Pittsburgh and Western Penn... ..	Pittsburgh
Rhode Island.....	Rhode Island Historical Society.....	Providence
Rhode Island.....	Rhode Island Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society.....	Providence
Rhode Island.....	Newport Historical Society.....	Newport
South Carolina.....	South Carolina Historical Society.....	Charleston
Tennessee.....	Historical Society of Tennessee.....	Nashville
Texas.....	Historical Society of Galveston.....	Galveston
Vermont.....	Vermont Historical Society.....	Montpelier
Vermont.....	Middlebury Historical Society.....	Middlebury
Virginia.....	Virginia Historical Society.....	Richmond
Virginia.....	Southern Historical Society.....	Richmond
Virginia.....	Historical Society of Roanoke College.....	Salem
West Virginia.....	West Virginia Historical Society.....	Morgantown
Wisconsin.....	State Historical Society.....	Madison
Wisconsin.....	Old Settlers' Historical Society.....	Racine
Wisconsin.....	Millwaukee Pioneer Club.....	Millwaukee
Canada, etc.....	Historical Society.....	Quebec
Canada, etc.....	Historical Society of Nova Scotia.....	Halifax
Canada, etc.....	New Brunswick Historical Society.....	St. John
Canada, etc.....	Prince Edward's Island Historical Society.....	Prince Edward's Island
Canada, etc.....	Canadian Institute.....	Toronto

The list of Ohio societies is omitted, as an effort is making to obtain a complete list to date. [EDITOR.]

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held an interesting meeting December 8. A valuable paper was read before the Society by Rev. J. G. Morris, D. D., upon the "Order of the Cincinnati," being a brief history of the order. Washington was the first, and Hamilton Fish, who is now the presiding officer, is the ninth, president of the organization.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., held its regular quarterly meeting on the evening of December 12.

A sketch of the late Hon. Stewart Pearce was read by Mr. George B. Kulp, and a valuable geological paper, written by Professor E. W. Claypole of the State Geological Survey, was read by the secretary, Harrison Wright, Ph. D.

---

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held a meeting December 30, which was largely attended by both ladies and gentlemen. Great interest in numismatics is felt by the members of this Society. Valuable papers on this subject were read by Dr. Charles Fisher and Mr. Charles Gorton. Professor Gammell, the president, gave a brief address explanatory of the value of ancient coins in their relation to ancient history.

---

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is making a valuable collection of paintings which will be ready to be shown to the public February 12, the anniversary of the Society. Mr. Carl L. Brandt, the director of the Telfair Academy, has the collection in charge, which is said to be of great value.

---

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEWBURGH BAY AND THE HIGHLANDS, at a meeting held January 6, listened to the address read by Hon. James G. Graham, made by Washington before the Continental Congress upon resigning his commission, at Annapolis, December 23, 1783. One of the concluding passages of Washington's address contains those memorable words:

I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life by commending the interests of our devoted country to the protection of Almighty God; and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

Rev. Rufus Emory read an instructive paper on "The Church of England in Newburgh and vicinity prior to the Revolution."

---

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting January 7, and elected as officers for the ensuing year, Mr. John J. Land, president; Herbert A. Newton, vice-president; Gilbert Nash, secretary; George S. Baker, treasurer, and Miss Carrie A. Blanchard, librarian.

An historical sketch of Weymouth will soon be published by the Society.

---

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, January 8, devoted the afternoon and evening to several instructive papers, as follows: "The Aborigines of Maine," by Edward H. Elwell; "The Voyage of Weymouth in 1602," by Rev. H. S. Burrage, D.D.; "A Biographical Sketch of John G. Deane," by General John M. Brown; "The Voice of Maine as heard in the formation of our Government," by George F. Emory; and "The Origin and Growth of the Newspaper Press in Maine," by Edward H. Elwell.

---

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—At a meeting January 8 Mr. Francis Parkman gave to this Society a most valuable historical collection, which the Society will undoubtedly prize most highly, being a portion of his manuscript material employed for the production of his histories of the French in North America. Thirty-five bound and three unbound volumes, copied from the French and English originals, for the most part unprinted, form this choice collection.

---

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—January 6 was held the annual meeting of this Society, when the following officers were elected: Benjamin H. Field, president; Hamilton Fish, vice-president; Cornelius Vanderbilt, second vice-president; William M. Evarts, foreign corresponding secretary; Edward F. de Lancey, domestic corresponding secretary; Andrew Warner, recording secretary; Robert Schell, treasurer; Jacob B. Moore, librarian.

---

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its annual meeting at Utica, January 13, elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Hon. Horatio Seymour, president; Ellis H. Roberts, Rev. Isaac S. Hartley, D.D., and Daniel Wager, vice-presidents; Gen. C. W. Darling, corresponding secretary; Robert S. Williams, treasurer; M. M. Jones, librarian; and John F. Seymour, S. G. Visscher, C. W. Hutchinson and Daniel Batchelor, executive committee.



THE WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY has just held its thirty-first annual meeting. The report of the librarian shows that the Society has now a grand total of 109,059 volumes and pamphlets, 2,546 volumes and 1,845 pamphlets having been added to the library during the year 1884. There are few societies that have so extensive a collection. Among the paintings in the gallery are 129 prominent State pioneers. The Society has just moved into its magnificent new building, erected at a cost of \$100,000.

## REVIEWS.

'WHY WE ARE DEMOCRATS.' A Book Setting Forth the Principles and Policies of the Democratic Party from the Beginning of the Government to the Present Time. 'The Popular Edition of the Laws of Ohio,' a valuable book which should be in the hands of every citizen of Ohio.

Honorable S. S. Bloom, of Shelby, Richland County, Ohio, the author of the above named books, is a lawyer who came to the bar at a late age out of love for the profession. He was nearly thirty years of age when admitted to practice, but has been actively in the profession for nearly twenty years, during which time he served eight years in the Ohio House of Representatives. He was an enthusiast on the codification of Ohio laws from 1878-82, being one of the few who pressed the work to its conclusion. He is a clear thinker and a forcible writer. For terms and other information in regard to the above books, address S. S. Bloom, Shelby, O.

THIS Magazine is in receipt of a handsome pamphlet, published by the Chicago Historical Society, comprising memorial addresses by Hon. E. B. Washburn and others, commemorating the life and character of the society's late president, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, and its vice-president, Hon. Thomas Hoyne. These gentlemen were men of great strength of mind and of high character, and the story of their lives, though briefly told, is instructive as well as interesting to all who will attentively read it. Both were lawyers of conspicuous ability. Mr. Arnold became a resident of Chicago in 1836, Mr. Hoyne in 1837; both reached distinction in political life, the former being a member of Congress during Mr. Lincoln's

first administration, the latter filling first the office of United States District Attorney, then of United States Marshal, and again that of mayor of Chicago. Mr. Arnold was a man of fine literary culture, and in addition to numerous pamphlets was the author of the 'History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery,' 'The Life of Benedict Arnold, his Patriotism and his Treason,' and 'The Life of Abraham Lincoln,' now in press. He was one of the founders of the Chicago Historical Society, and its president from December, 1876, until the day of his death, April 24, 1884. Hon. E. B. Washburn, his friend and memoirist, succeeds him as president of the society.

QUERIES is the name of a sprightly edited and attractive looking little monthly published at Buffalo, N. Y., the subscription price being only fifty cents per year. It is devoted to a review of literary, art, scientific and general educational questions of the day. It has a list of interesting questions relating to literature, American history, science, art, music, theology, mathematics, &c., for correct answers to which prizes are offered. "Queries" contains sixteen pages of reading matter, the pages being about the size of those of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY. Every person sending us, before April 1, 1885, \$4.00, the yearly subscription price of this Magazine, will receive, if the wish is so expressed, the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY and Queries for one year.

PANIC-STRICKEN TROOPS AT SHILOH.—Gen. Grant on the Battle of Shiloh in the February Century says:

"The nature of this battle was such that cavalry could not be used in front; I therefore formed ours into line, in rear, to stop stragglers, of whom there were many. When there would be enough of them to make a show, and after they had recovered from their fright, they would be sent to re-enforce some part of the line which needed support, without regard to their companies, regiments or brigades.

"On one occasion during the day, I rode back as far as the river and met General Buell, who had just arrived; I do not remember the hour of the day, but at that time there probably were as many as four or five thousand stragglers lying under cover of the river bluff, panic-stricken, most of whom would have been shot where they lay, without resistance, before they would have taken muskets and marched to the front to protect themselves. The meeting between General Buell and myself was on the dispatch-boat used to run between the landing and Savanna. It was but brief, and related specially to his getting his troops over the river. As we left the boat together, Buell's attention was attracted by the men lying under cover of the river bank. I saw him berating them and trying to shame them into joining their regiments. He even threatened them with shells from the gun-boats near by. But it was all to no effect. Most of these men afterward proved themselves as gallant as any of those who saved the battle from which they had deserted. I have no doubt that this sight impressed General Buell with the idea that a line of retreat would be a good thing just then. If he had come in by the front instead of through the stragglers in the rear, he would have thought and felt differently. Could he have come through the Confederate rear, he would have witnessed there a scene similar to that of our own. The distant rear of an army engaged in battle is not the best place from which to judge correctly what is going on in front. In fact, later in the war, while occupying the country between the Tennessee and the Mississippi, I learned that the panic in the Confederate lines had not differed much from that within our own. Some of the country people estimated the stragglers from Johnston's army as high as 20,000. Of course, this was an exaggeration."

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, in the February Atlantic, thus delineates an ideal American: If there is any person in the world to be envied, it is the one who is born to an ancient estate, with a long line of family traditions and the means in his hands of shaping his mansion and his domain to his own taste,

without losing sight of all the characteristic features which surrounded his earliest years. The American is, for the most part, a nomad, who pulls down his house as the Tartar pulls up his tent-poles. If I had an ideal life to plan for him it would be something like this:—

His grandfather should be a wise, scholarly, large-brained, large-hearted country minister, from whom he should inherit the temperament that predisposes to cheerfulness and enjoyment, with the finer instincts which direct life to noble aims and make it rich with the gratification of pure and elevated tastes and the carrying out of plans for the good of his neighbors and his fellow creatures. He should, if possible, have been born, at any rate have passed some of his early years, or a large part of them, under the roof of the good old minister. His father should be, we will say, a business man in one of our great cities—a generous manipulator of millions, some of which have adhered to his private fortunes, in spite of his liberal use of his means. His heir, our ideally placed American, shall take possession of the old house, the home of his earliest memories, and preserve it sacredly, not exactly like the Santa Casa, but, as nearly as may be, just as he remembers it. He can add as many acres as he will to the narrow house-plot. He can build a grand mansion for himself, if he chooses, in the not distant neighborhood. But the old house, and all immediately round it, shall be as he recollects it when he had to stretch his little arm up to reach the door handles. Then, having well provided for his own household, himself included, let him become the providence of the village or the town where he finds himself at least a portion of every year. Its schools, its library, its poor—and perhaps the new clergyman who has succeeded his grandfather's successor may be one of them—all its interests, he shall make his own. And from this centre his beneficence shall radiate so far that all who hear of his wealth shall also hear of him as a friend to his race.

Is not this a pleasing programme? Wealth is a steep hill, which the father climbs slowly and the son often tumbles down precipitately; but there is a tableland continuous with it, which may be found by those who do not lose their head in looking down from its sharply cloven summit. Our dangerously rich men can make themselves hated, held as enemies of the race, or beloved and recognized as its benefactors. The clouds of discontent are threatening, but if the golden-pointed lightning-rods are rightly distributed, the destructive element may be drawn off silently and harmlessly. For it cannot be repeated too often that the safety of great wealth with us lies

in obedience to the new version of the old world axiom, *RICHESSSE oblige*.

WHETHER we agree with Mr. Beecher or not, few men can speak or write on any subject of public interest with so great a certainty that everybody will want to know what they say. In discussing the question as to how far ministers may properly go in politics—which he does in the *North American Review* for February—what the great preacher says is of interest, perhaps all the more because it is a matter that touches him personally as well as professionally. In the same number of the *Review*, the question, "How shall the President be Elected?" is ably treated by five happily chosen writers, viz.: two United States Senators, Dawes and Vance; a college president, F. A. P. Barnard, of Columbia; a New York lawyer, Roger A. Pryor; and a well-known journalist, William Purcell. The substantial agreement of four of them on the same point is significant. Another notable article in this unusually strong number is a review of "Holmes' Life of Emerson," by the veteran historian, George Bancroft; and still another is an essay by Prof. C. A. Young on "Theories regarding the Sun's Corona," which he skillfully brings within popular comprehension. The Rev. Dr. W. G. T. Shedd defends the dogma "Endless Punishment," and Prof. G. Stanley Hall writes on "New Departures in Education."

THE *Inland Monthly* (Vol. I, No. 1, received) published at Columbus, O., is a handsomely illustrated, neatly printed and ably conducted literary periodical, whose merits entitle it to a long and prosperous career, which we trust is in store for it. A number of persons of literary taste and abilities, notably W. Farrand Felch and James M. Kerr, have become sponsors for its right conduct, and will no doubt see to it that its bearing shall be dignified, its behavior becoming, its conversation instructive, its growth constant, and its prosperity continuously on the increase. The subscription price is \$1.50 per year. Any person who will send us \$5.00 will receive the *Inland Monthly* and the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* for one year.

'KENTUCKY: A Pioneer Commonwealth.' By N. S. Shaler (*American Commonwealths*). Edited by Horace E. Scudder. 1 vol., 16mo., 427 pp. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884.

Kentucky, it is shown by Mr. Shaler, is the child of Virginia. Most of the people who settled within

her borders during the first half century of her history, which may be called the formative period, were from Virginia. Her laws, customs and institutions, therefore, as well as her people, bear a striking resemblance to those of the mother State. No other State of the Union is so distinctively the offspring of another State. This striking peculiarity renders the study of the history of Kentucky exceptionally interesting. The author of the book before us, in order to give a clearer understanding of the forces which were chiefly instrumental in molding the character of the people of Kentucky, gives a brief but clear account of the first stages in the growth and development of Virginia. This is followed by chapters on "The Physical Condition of Kentucky," in which, and the succeeding chapter on "The Geology of Kentucky," the natural resources, the topographical features and geological structure of the State, are adequately explained. In the chapter on the "First Explorations of Kentucky," Thomas Walker is given credit for the first deliberate journey beyond the line of the Alleghenies. He traversed what is now central Kentucky in the year 1750, and made a record of what he saw and of the good opinion he formed of the country. In 1751 Christopher Gist visited the mouth of the Scioto, and crossed the Ohio, and explored the country as far as Big Bone Lick.

The following is the narrative given of the adventures of Mrs. Mary Inglis, who was taken prisoner in Virginia by the Indians and conveyed to Kentucky whence she escaped:

"The first white woman in Kentucky was Mrs. Mary Inglis, *nee* Draper, who in 1756, with her two little boys, her sister-in-law, Mrs. Draper, and others, was taken prisoner by the Shawnee Indians from her home on the top of the great Allegheny ridge, in now Montgomery County, West Virginia. The captives were taken down the Kanawha to the salt region, and, after a few days spent in making salt, to the Indian village at the mouth of the Scioto River, where Portsmouth, Ohio, now is. Here, although spared the pain and danger of running the gauntlet, to which Mrs. Draper was subjected, she was, in the division of the prisoners, separated from her little sons. Some French traders from Detroit visiting the village with their goods, Mrs. Inglis made some shirts out of the checked fabrics. As fast as one was finished, a Frenchman would take it and run through the village, swinging it on a staff, praising it as an ornament and Mrs. Inglis as a very fine squaw; and then make the Indians pay her from their store at least twice its value. This profitable employment

continued about three weeks, and Mrs. Inglis was more than ever admired and kindly treated by her captors.

A party setting off for Big Bone Licks, on the south side of the Ohio River, about one hundred and forty miles below, to make salt, took her along, together with an elderly Dutch woman, who had been a long time prisoner. The separation from her children determined her to escape, and she prevailed upon the old woman to accompany her. They obtained leave to gather grapes. Securing a blanket, tomahawk and knife, they left the Licks in the afternoon, and to prevent suspicion took neither additional clothing nor provisions. When about to depart Mrs. Inglis exchanged her tomahawk with one of the three Frenchmen in the company, as he was sitting on one of the big bones cracking walnuts. They hastened to the Ohio River, and proceeded unmolested up the stream—in about five days coming opposite the village their captors and they had lived at, at the mouth of the Scioto. There they found an empty cabin, and remained for the night. In the morning they loaded a horse, browsing near by, with corn, and proceeded up the river, escaping observation, although in sight of the Indian village and Indians for several hours.

Although the season was dry and the rivers low, the Big Sandy was too deep to cross at its mouth; so they followed up its banks until they found a crossing on the driftwood. The horse fell among the logs, and could not be extricated. The women carried what corn they could, but it was exhausted long before they reached the Kanawha, and they lived upon grapes, black walnuts, pawpaws, and sometimes roots. These did not long satisfy the old Dutch woman, and, frantic with hunger, and exposure, she threatened, and several days after at twilight actually attempted, the life of her companion. Mrs. Inglis escaped from the grasp of the desperate woman, outran her, and concealed herself awhile under the river-bank. Proceeding along by the light of the moon, she found a canoe—the identical one in which the Indians had taken her across the river five months before—half filled with dirt and leaves, without a paddle or a pole near. Using a broad splinter of a fallen tree, she cleared the canoe, and contrived to paddle it to the other side. In the morning the old woman discovered her, and with strong promises of good behavior begged her to cross over and keep her company; but she thought they were more likely to remain friends with the river between them. Though approaching her former home, her condition

was growing hopeless: her strength almost wasted away, and her limbs had begun to swell from wading cold streams, frost and fatigue. The weather was growing cold, and a slight snow fell. At length, after forty days and a half of remarkable endurance, during which she traveled not less than twenty miles a day, she reached a clearing and the residence of a friendly family, by whose kind and judicious treatment she was strong enough in a few days to proceed to a fort near by, and the next day she was restored to her husband. Help was sent to the Dutch woman, and she, too, recovered. One of the little boys died in captivity, not long after the forced separation; the other remained thirteen years with the Indians before his father could trace him up and secure his ransom. Mrs. Inglis died in 1813, aged eighty-four. Her family was one of the best, and her daughters married men who became distinguished."

'STUDIES IN SCIENCE AND RELIGION,' by G. Frederick Wright, Author of 'The Logic of Christian Evidences.' 12mo., \$1.50. Oberlin: E. J. Goodrich.

Books upon science and religion have been written in the main in such a spirit that they are of little use. The mere religionist has not done justice to science or its students, and on the other hand the scientific man has not seldom taken refuge in too narrow views of the wisdom and goodness of that Creator whose works he studies. This book is written by a gentleman who has been preacher at Andover, who is now the leading editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and a professor of theology in Oberlin. His previous book, 'The Logic of Christian Evidences,' is considered a remarkably able and compact volume by the highest authorities of several denominations and countries. But Professor Wright is also noted as a scientific man, who in certain fields of geological study has done great service. He has a love of induction and is not afraid to apply to religion the modes of investigation which obtain in nature. There are those who feel more and more, year by year, that the same God intended nature and the Bible to be studied, and in a degree the same mental and moral discipline in the two. To their minds, the similarity of the Bible, in its discipline, to nature, affords the strongest proof that it came from the hands of the same Creator. Professor Wright does not say that is his experience, but his treatment of the subject shows his views of the harmony of natural and revealed religion. He makes a clear and able statement of the arguments



and views of the Darwinians and their opponents. Both parties must admit the force of his statements, and the book excels in real and solid learning. One rises from it not feeling this is an ingenious presentation on one side, but that it is able and fair on both. He excels greatly in the power of analysis, which is precisely what the treatment of such subjects has lacked. The treatment of scientific method, Darwinism and final cause or design in nature, occupies two hundred of the four hundred pages in this small *ramo*. Mr. Darwin himself said of the discussion herein of the relation of science and religion, "It seems to me powerfully written and most clear." On the other hand, the author's book on 'Evidences,' has been adopted as a text book in some thirty colleges and theological seminaries. The chapter on Calvinism and Darwinism is a most powerful exposition of the essential similarity of the two, when carried to the extremes claimed by the devotees of each. In point of mental ability that is perhaps the ablest chapter of the volume. Most readers will

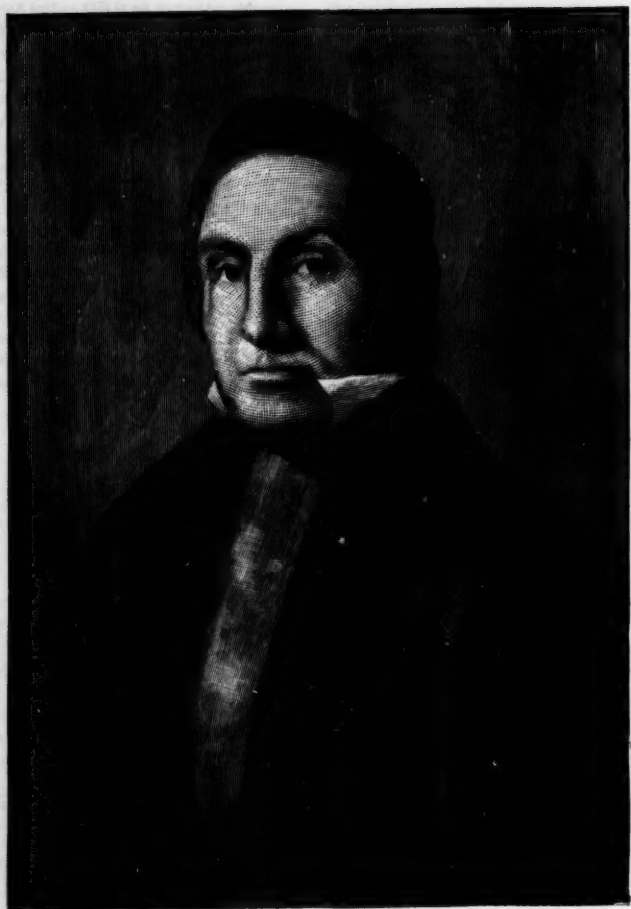
like better the long chapter in the book on Prehistoric Man, and the final one on the relation of the Bible to science.

He treats the history of prehistoric man with the same scientific fairness that, in short, he ought, but with which few do; and he evidently is not afraid for his Bible or his God. Presenting fairly the arguments for man's earliest appearance, he yet greatly shortens the usual supposed remoteness of the glacial period and glacial man, and few or none could speak better on this subject. The glacial period has been to him a favorite study for weeks and months together in the fields. He reads the face of the country, which has been under the ice, as if it were an open book—fascinating, but not a romance. We think the person who reads these, "Studies" will rise with new learning, broadened views, a fresh interest for both nature and the Bible, feeling as if he had in previous study overlooked much of absorbing interest in each.—[B.]





THE  
LIBRARY  
OF THE  
MUSEUM  
OF  
ART  
AND  
ARCHAEOLOGY  
OF  
THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF  
CAMBRIDGE  
1871



*L. H. Stark*